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ABSTRACT

This document summarizes the experiences and results of four years (1972-1975) of work in nonformal education in Ecuador. The project grew out of informal discussions in 1970 between several members of the Center for International Education at the University of Massachusetts and a group of Ecuadoreans and Americans in the USAID mission in Quito. These discussions led to the realization that both groups were dissatisfied with the focus on the formal educational system as the major vehicle for human development. The project is a series of subprojects linked together by a common staff and a corresponding similarity of basic philosophy concerning goals, staffing, and processes. Throughout the project are two general programmatic thrusts: creating and testing an approach to working with village facilitators, and adapting materials and methods to be used by the adult education staff of the Ministry of Education. Two objectives of the project were to create or redefine methodologies and processes within which might be produced a learning-growth relationship and to demonstrate that these processes are valid as instruments for social change. Emphasis was on generating processes that foster the phenomenon of transformation rather than pure modernization. The document proceeds generally from a discussion of the conceptual framework and the philosophy toward a discussion of the more specific techniques and materials used, such as gaming and radio. (Author/JR)

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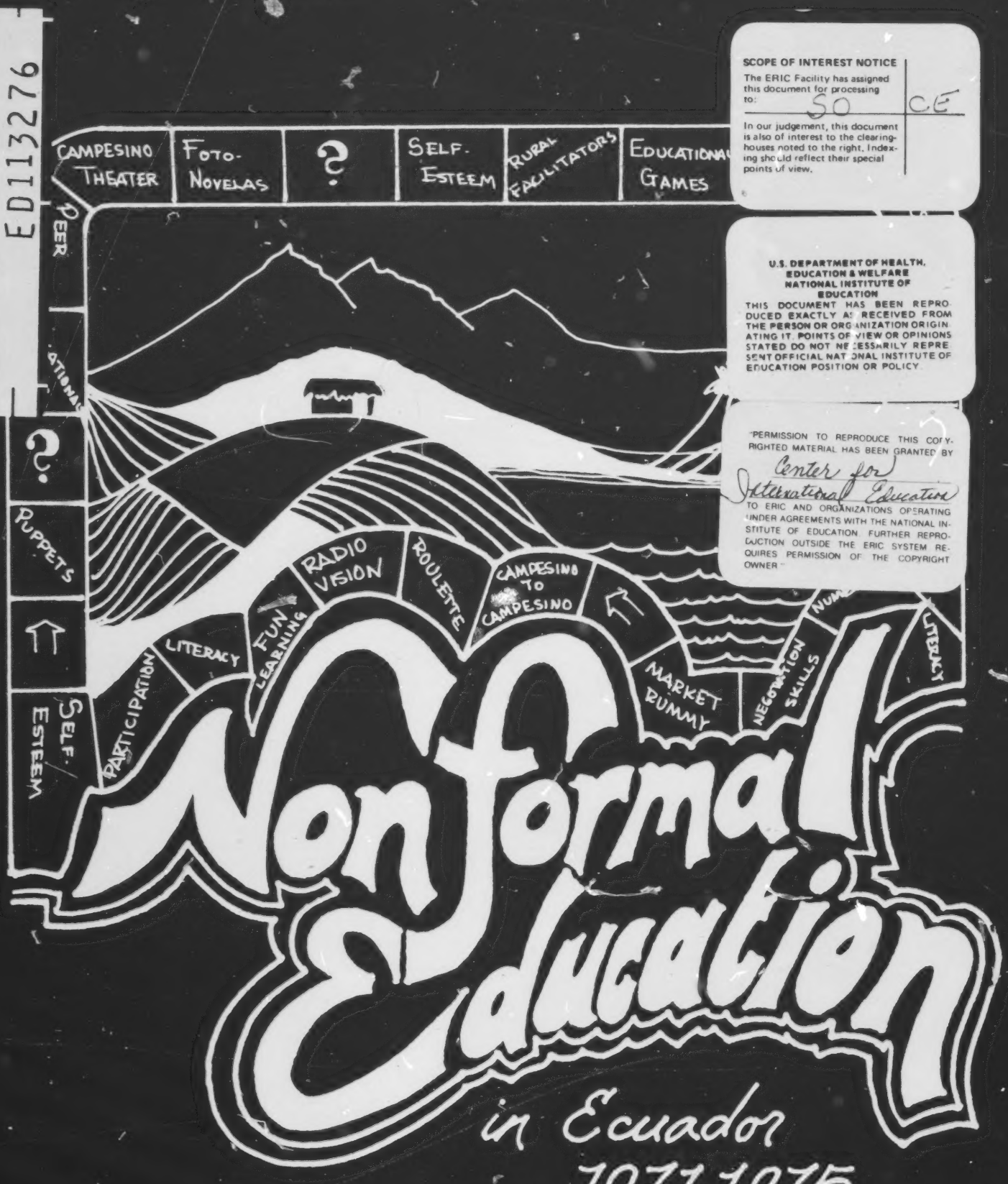

# AN APPROACH TO NONFORMAL EDUCATION

Center for International Education
School of Education
University of Massachusetts
July, 1975

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## DEDICATION

The nonformal education experiment in Ecuador, between 1972-1975, was a challenge in communication. An attempt to create concepts, tools,techniques, methodologies that would facilitate a type of communication, among rural people of Ecuador, that would organize their energies toward the creativity and power to communicate about their social conditions and to develop the potential for continuously re-creating themselves and the world about them.

In retrospect, the Project staff in its first year of work attempted to inculcate the value and use of nonformal tools and methodologies to campesinos, only to realize months later that we were victims of our own philosophy and contradictions.

We dedicate this document to all Ecuadorean campesinos who participated in the Project and who gave us an increased capacity to care, to develop our level of social consciousness, endurance and openness to see our world, the support to tolerate our own ambiguity, and the responsibility to see that our work was our actions and participation rather than just our words.



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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This document, like the Nonformal Project itself, has been a group product. For this reason we wish to list the names of the core Project staff (those who were at one time during the three-year experiment on Project salary) in alphabetical order without title or job description. This is simply one way of confirming our belief that titles and functions are irrelevant to the work and commitment given to the Project.

Diego Andrade
Beatriz Alcocer
Patricio Barriga
June Bourbeau
Amparo Borja
John Bing
David Evans
James Hoxeng
Carlos Moreno
Alberto Ochoa
Pedro Pulupa
William Smith
Enrique Tasiguano
Enrique Toaquiza
Rodrigo Villacís

In addition to these salaried individuals, a small but important group of consultants also made significant contributions to the form and nature of this Project. They include:

Alfred Alschuler
Sylvia Forman
Jock Gunter
José Guzmán
Valerie Ickis
Duo Muella Orellano
Rosa María Rodríguez
Donald Swanson

Within the Ministry of Education the Project has received significant encouragement, support, and involvement from many individuals, principal among whom are:

Aida de Moncayo
Carlos Poveda
Galo Proaño
Yolanda Peralta
Rafael Aldaz
Milton Cisneros
Nancy de Rodríguez

| | |
|---|---|
| Luis Freire | Bolivar Gayela |
| Alfredo Carrera | Norma Ludena |
| Edison Yépez | Mariana Almeida |
| German de la Bastida | Marcelo Troya |

USAID - Ecuador has provided valuable administrative and conceptual support for the Project. Among the individuals most involved in the Project's development are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Peter Cody | James Frits |
| Raymond Garufi | Cesar Jaramillo |
| John Gant | Jorge Utreras |

The Nonformal Education Project has also received important support from a variety of Ecuadorian Institutions. Those which have been of most direct assistance include:

Radio-School of Tabacundo
Servicio Ecuatoriano de Voluntarios
FENACOPAR - Rice Cooperative Federation
Colegio Sayausi
HCJB - Voice of the Andes Radio Station
ICE - Instituto Cooperativo Ecuatoriano
CEMA - Centro de Motivación y Asesoría
ILV - Summer Institute of Linguistics

Finally and most importantly, the Project owes its success to the patience, support and involvement of several hundred Ecuadorian campesinos, only a few of whom we mention here as having been outstanding in assisting the Project staff to conceptualize what nonformal education might come to mean in Ecuador.

TUNGURAHUA

Jorge Freire Benao

CHIMBORAZO

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| Eliecer Valdivieso | Eufemia Lara |
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| Rafael Yautibug | Marcelino Tuquilema |

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GUAYAS

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| Elias Reyes | Guillermo Suárez |



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# INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this document is to summarize in an accessible fashion the experiences and results of nearly four years' work in nonformal education in Ecuador. We intend the following chapters to serve as a reference for the many others around the world who are grappling with the problems of development at the most local level; who are motivated by philosophers like Freire and Illich toward a different outcome of the process of development; who are committed to trying significant educational alternatives, and above all who are concerned with the impact of their efforts on the individual lives of people in the rural areas. If anything distinguishes our efforts, it is a constant striving to think and act in a way which affirms the legitimacy and the necessity of the participation of local people in the process of development as it affects their lives. The process has not been easy. It has required constant dialogue and confrontation within the staff, and demands a commitment to continual assessment of our activities and their results. We hope that some sense of this process is conveyed by the chapters of this document as different individuals from the staff strive to express in words what the experience was like.



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All such activities, of course, take place in an organizational context, and the Ecuador Nonformal Education Project was no exception. The Project grew out of a fortuitous set of contacts in 1970 between several members of the Center for International Education at the University of Massachusetts and a group of Ecuadoreans and Americans in the USAID mission in Quito. Informal discussions led to the realization that both groups were dissatisfied with the focus on the formal educational system as the major vehicle for human development. After a survey of non-school educational efforts in the country and much discussion with concerned private and government people in Ecuador, a contract was signed with the University of Massachusetts to begin experimenting with nonformal education approaches in specific localities of rural Ecuador. During the following three years of the contract a wide variety of activities took place. These efforts form the basis for the present document which attempts to highlight the major results and to share what we feel would be most useful to those who would attempt similar activities in their own setting.

From the beginning the Project staff has been committed to a set of values which have shaped the behavior and activities of the Project. Perhaps the most crucial of these values in the initial phases of the Project was the emphasis on Ecuadorean staffing and participation, coupled with a low and gradually decreasing North American profile in the Project. From the beginning the field staff has been headed by an Ecuadorean, and at no time has there been more than one North American resident in the field.

A second commitment resulted in the selection of Ecuadoreans for the staff who were themselves products of the communities in which we were working. Thus both of our field coordinators were Quechua-speaking members of Sierra communities who came to play a major role in the development of the facilitator approach to nonformal education. Bringing the perspective and experiences of a group of socially committed Ecuadoreans directly into the core of the Project was perhaps the single most important factor in producing the results which followed.

The Project can best be understood as a series of sub-projects loosely linked together by a common staff, and a corresponding similarity of basic philosophy concerning goals, staffing and processes. The sub-projects had individual timelines which overlapped as new ones started and old ones were concluded. The various chapters in the document to some extent reflect the specific sub-projects - - e.g., the fotonovelas, the educational games, and the cassette tape recorder project. In any particular village setting, some combination of the various techniques and approaches would be selected for use. Later efforts such as the bibliobus combined a wide variety of the techniques into a single vehicle, which in that case was used as a means for achieving initial contact with the village and stimulating their interest.

The three years of the Project involved a focus which shifted from creation and experimentation with methods during the first year, to an emphasis on finding and testing delivery mechanisms in the second year, to consolidation and summarizing these experiences during the third year. Continuing throughout this time period were two general programmatic thrusts: creating and testing an approach to working with village facilitators, and adapting materials and methods to be usable by the Adult education staff of the Ministry of Education. These two avenues of approach were used throughout the three years and continue on in a modified form at present, under the aegis of the Ministry of Education.

The facilitator model grew out of an approach originally tried with a small group of about ten villages in the Sierra. During the second year the original group was expanded to second and third generations, and new groups of villages were begun, one in another section of the Sierra and a second on the Coast. These experiences are covered in some detail in the chapter on facilitators.

Paralleling this was a gradually increasing involvement with the Ministry of Education's adult education program. Beginning with training sessions for small groups of teachers, our involvement increased until the Ministry was printing large numbers of copies of some of the Project materials, and Project staff was providing

training to Ministry teachers on a national basis. These two approaches were always felt to be complementary and the staff was committed to keeping both types alive and growing as mechanisms of nonformal education in Ecuador.

The results discussed in this document should be used with some caution. They are the product of limited but in-depth experience in specific situations. We do not believe that the specific details of the techniques can or should be applied directly in other settings. Most likely to be transferred to other settings are the components of the basic processes which we employed: the selection of certain types of people; the design of an approach that puts those most affected in positions of direct responsibility; the emphasis on understanding your own situation and then responding to that understanding; and the basic belief in the capability of the villager, which is aptly expressed by the title of a book-length study of the Project entitled "Let Jorge Do It."

Thus, it would be a mistake to take specific materials or techniques and use them directly in another setting. We have ourselves been trapped in this error even within Ecuador. Transfer of the general approach of a participatory simulation which can be used by villagers might be appropriate to some settings, although the resulting new technique may well have only a limited relationship to the original simulation.

In attempting to share with others our experiences, we have predictably turned to a process whereby many different people have contributed. The chapters in the document have been written by different people, discussed by the staff as a whole, been revised -- often by someone else -- and finally brought together. About two-thirds of the chapters were originally written in Spanish and subsequently translated. The remainder were originally in English and then translated so that there are complete Spanish and English versions. The Spanish version is being published in Quito, and the English one in Massachusetts. We ask the reader to be tolerant of the variety of styles, and the occasional redundancies which are inevitable when many different writers participate in producing a single product.

Each chapter should be read as a window which opens on the experiences and feelings of one of the staff members. While the chapter contains contributions of many people, it is generally portrayed through the eyes of the one individual. As a result, the reader has access to some of the diversity and sources of dialogue which were so crucial to our own growth during the Project. A conscious decision was made to leave the final document in a form which reflected these differences rather than edit it into a single stylistic whole. We felt that the current format was richer and more honest in portraying what we represent and what we have learned.

The document proceeds generally from a discussion of the conceptual framework and the philosophy toward a discussion of the more specific techniques and materials used. The chapter on Critical Consciousness represents one of the approaches which we have taken toward a systematic conceptualization of the key concept of "consciousness." That chapter will ultimately be part of a larger document. The Facilitator chapter deals at some length with one of the two major delivery systems used throughout the Project. The other, the Ministry of Education, as well as many smaller ones, are discussed in the chapter on Institutional Relations. The latter chapter reflects well some of our strategic decisions to go slowly in introducing ideas and to work with institutions on their terms when they were ready to deal with us.

Most of the other chapters deal with specific classes of materials or techniques as we used them. The chapter on gaming materials focuses on one of the major vehicles we used to generate participation, entertainment, and critical discussion. The Group-centered Work chapter presents a variety of methods used to work with groups in order to produce a greater social awareness of the forces acting upon their lives. Finally, the chapter on Radio and that on Fotonovela deal with uses which we made of mass media in attempting to bring oral and written communications to villagers in a way which would promote participation and control over their use and content by the listeners.

Readers who wish to seek further details or documentation are encouraged to communicate with the Project either in Quito or at the University of Massachusetts. There are a series of Technical Notes which detail many of the techniques and procedures. To some extent these matters are covered in this document, but each has its unique features. There is also the earlier book-length study entitled "Let Jorge Do It" which presents the perspective of one staff member after the first year and a half of the Project. In addition, there are numerous published articles and reports by various visitors to the Project. However, for most readers, we hope that this document will provide a comprehensive and useful summary of what we have been trying to accomplish.

Finally, a few comments about evaluation are in order. The reader will notice that there is no section specifically devoted to evaluation. During the life of the Project, there have been about half-a-dozen different evaluations of various aspects of the Project. A variety of techniques ranging from quasi-experimental studies of the effectiveness of specific materials to participant observation of facilitators in three villages have been used. The results of these studies have revealed a variety of strengths and weaknesses, and the information has been used to improve our methods. Wherever possible, such information has been incorporated in the discussions in specific chapters.

However, it would also be accurate to indicate that the issue of evaluation has been a challenging and at times frustrating task with which we have been dissatisfied. We are dissatisfied with the technical problems of producing usable results, and more importantly with some of the basic ethical issues involved in research which is basically extractive and has little relevance or meaning for the lives of those participating in the evaluations. Evaluation remains a very much unexplored and critical area in the field of non-formal education. We look to the efforts of ourselves and others in the future to provide more equitable and effective means of evaluation for projects such as ours.

# CHAPTER I

## THE CONCEPT: THE SETTING AND THE PHILOSOPHY

## THE CONCEPT: THE SETTING AND THE PHILOSOPHY

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| Campesino ecuatoriano<br>de la costa y de la sierra | Ecuadorian farmer<br>from the coast and from the mountains |
| Lucharemos siempre unidos<br>separados no podemos. | We shall always struggle together<br>as separately we could not. |
| Es la voz de nuestra raza<br>que grita liberación<br>Si no nos dan le arrancamos<br>porque somos valerosos. | The voice of our race<br>cries freedom.<br>If they do not give it to us<br>we will seize it<br>because we are brave. |
| Andan diciendo los blancos<br>que nos van a liberar.<br>Para liberar a otros<br>hay que ser libres primero. | The whites keep saying<br>that they will free us.<br>Yet in order to free others<br>One must first be free. |

A group of Ecuadorian farmers sang these verses one cold Andean night upon completion of the evening session of what we had come to call nonformal education. As many other farmers of the country, the authors of the song had served for the past three years as community educators in their towns.[1] They had taught the alphabet, facilities for working with numbers, problem solving, etc. But on this night, none of this programmatic content mattered. Making calculations, reading the capital city's daily newspapers, doing a better job of cultivating one's own and others' land had been, among other things, the sub-products of our work. However, the most important intention was not limited to the development of cognizant abilities, nor to the promotion of the functionability of these educative processes. We did not seek reformist formulas nor alternatives to school. The Nonformal Education Project, as it was called, basically sought two objectives: 1) to create or re-define methodologies and processes within which might be produced a learning-growth[2] relationship; and 2) to demonstrate that these processes are valid as instruments for social change, even when used in a nonformal atmosphere, without paying prime attention to the conventional schemes and norms that are known as education.

One farmer described his attitude toward the generalized stereotypes of the rural dweller in the following manner:



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"You know that all of the world thinks that we have no value, that we are stupid and ignorant, lazy and backwards, but they are wrong. I would like to see a person from the city try to weave an estera[3] or spend a day harvesting potatoes. We work hard, we are capable people. We can grow and soar as high as that bird that is now flying over Juana's house. We have this ability. We must use it."

Since its beginnings, the Nonformal Education Project has proposed to reaffirm this belief: that the farmer has the capacity to direct his own development within his own patterns of inter-relation. Naturally, we began in a very naïve way. During these three years the team of workers has confronted not only the values that are inherent to this ambivalent commitment, which places us between the sponsoring organizations and the needs of the people, but also that state of personal consciousness toward other human beings involved in the cause. "Today more than ever, the social scientists find themselves compelled to take part, to see to it that these social and political interests work."[4] Without having succeeded in giving ourselves a definite answer, each member of the team, with his/her own style and intensity, has personally or communally dealt with this matter.

## THE REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR: THE SETTING OF THE PROJECT

The Republic of Ecuador with its 8 million inhabitants and a square area of 270,000 km. is struggling at the crossroads of economic underdevelopment and dependency along with the other Latin American nations. The ethnic composition (40% Indian, 40% Mestizo, 10% European and 10% Black) marks a rigid social stratification, full of prejudices handed down from the Spanish conquest. During this period the northern part of the Incan Empire (now Ecuador) fell to the conquerors, who were to remain there for nearly three centuries (1532-1822), up until the liberation army, led by Simon Bolivar, won independence. For eight years it formed a part of the Great Colombian Empire, also constituted by what are now the republics of Colombia and Venezuela. Since 1830, there has been a rapid succession of civil and military presidents and dictators who have not allowed adequate political development.

## The Family and the Community

In the period following the Spanish conquest, families were organized according to the Incan system -- in units of ten, for purposes of both production and war. Having concubines was a common practice among the higher classes and probably was a status symbol. The Incan himself had various wives, picked from the acllа-hausi, institutes where women devotees and wives of the chiefs were educated. The Catholic missionaries who arrived with the conquest implanted monogamy as the new form of marriage. Simultaneously established was the patriarchal organization of the family, and the concept of the extended family led by the father's authority, "on whose care depended the wife and children -- usually numerous -- and relatives, both close and distant... This type of family... remained without any major variations during the Republic's reign."[5]

At the present time the community is constituted by the reunion of the extended families united by blood relations and matrimonial alliances. This phenomenon is most evident in the social organization of the rural zones, where 65% of the population lives, and among the upper-class urban families. The free union of couples is a common practice, particularly in the coastal rural zone. However, due to difficult economic conditions, the desertion of the father is usual. Consequently, single mothers abound and are victims of poor paying and menial jobs.

The situation of the woman parallels the social stratification. Her inferiority with respect to the man is determined in the laws. "She must subject herself to the authority of her husband." The degree of her distress varies, depending upon her social class. The woman who is a farmer or a laborer and is also a mother and homemaker is confronted with basic problems of survival. The middle- and high-class woman, on the other hand, seeks opportunities for professional fulfillment and betterment in both her work and personal identity.[6]

Migration to the cities is increasing daily in absolute percentage terms. Due to this and other structural reasons, Quito, the capital (approx. 800,000), and Guayaquil (approx, 1,000,000) are facing serious problems of

unemployment and its derivations, such as malnutrition and "delinquency."[7] The results of a recent study done at a national level indicate that "since a 31% rate of unemployment in the 12-14 year-old age bracket, the rate advances to 70% in the 35-44 year-old age bracket.[8] But the worst unemployment rate is that of the 698 groups[9] of Indians who live principally in the Andean mountains and in the eastern jungle. These "minority" groups (which in numbers constitute the majority) live as objects under rules of feudalism such as land grants and even slave labor. Whether or not legal conditions varied during the time of the Republic, the relationships of servitude and dependency in practice are still the same today as in the past.

## Agriculture and Land Tenancy

Agricultural exploitation has traditionally come from a specialized system of the cultivation of only one product: coffee. Cocoa and bananas have been the products that alternatively have sustained the export economy, until the discovery of petroleum. The land and cattle sector, until 1968, occupied 55% of the economically active population, producing 31.3% of the GNP.

The unequal distribution of land becomes dramatically obvious when one observes the phenomenons of both large and small neglected landed estates. In spite of the intervention of the IERAG (Ecuadorian Institute of Agrarian Reform) in the restructure of land tenancy, the agricultural properties exceeding 100 Has.* have not been reduced in comparative percentage 1963, when reduction was compelled by law. According to the farm census of 1954, 1958 and 1974, there exists a numerical diminishment of haciendas (farms) exceeding 500 Has. Correlatively, however, there has been a significant increase of small exploitations. For example, there were 432,000 plots of ground measuring less than 5 Has. in 1954. These were augmented to 708,000 in 1968, and 903,000 in 1974. This increase of small land estates shows a small (if any) improvement in the lifestyle of the farmers. The difficulties in marketing of products, the low quality of land, and the surrounding net of oppression present the farming family with the alternatives of either living in poverty or migrating to the cites.

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*Hectárea = 10,000 sq. meters

NONFORMAL EDUCATION

How do we speak of nonformal education if those of us who formed the team of workers were products of formal education? - - Systematic (with a capital "S") and institutionalized! In various ways and in different places, each of us has been processed through this great, prestigious (yet inflexible) establishment called school - - the High School or the University. There we absorbed the necessary knowledge to become what we are. Consequently, to speak of nonformal education meant to question the validity of our own mental processes and value systems. It meant to doubt our own selves and all that we had learned. Without question, this was the most difficult stage in the conceptual development, and that which would later render actions and projects controversial. The endless discussions and arguments of this period initiated us into a problematic process which still exists, and hopefully will never end.

On repeated occasions our desire to reach a concrete model, a finished product, would create tension and frustration. Our previously learned behaviors interfered, and at times were at odds with the concept that we were trying to re-invent; and we say "re-invent" because we later came to understand that solidarity, consciousness and self-confidence had been the elements of the whole transformation. We were constantly confronted with authoritarian manifestations or competition between the very members of the team. Little by little this immersed us in a constant and critical dialogue, which, by its sticky and functional nature (as the group was highly participatory) came to constitute the factor that catalyzed the relationship between members. Without yet being conscious that this practice would eventually become a primal element in the concept of nonformal education, we visualized the dialogue as an integral part of our lives, deeply rooted in our own interaction.

More and more frequently we discussed how to implement a liberating form of education. Work schemes and sophisticated projects were devised.

Yet we were continually confronted with the existential matter of the "we, here and now." In this context we practiced being ourselves. We shared our past experiences, our frustrations and our hopes. We accepted from the start that all we had to offer the campesinos was what we ourselves were. If we, the group of workers, were dependent, we would project dependency. If the group accepted authoritarianism, we would elicit this same attitude wherever we went.

In this way, we involved ourselves in our work more as men and women in the process of development than as professionals who had all the answers. Only in this way was it possible to create an atmosphere where each situation could be converted into a real learning experience. In spite of the constant external demands that were seeking the acquisition of concrete products (which we had to produce), we grew in a relationship that fostered the acquisition of an internal consciousness and a spirit of solidarity.

## THE AGREEMENT

Our initial expectation materialized as the result of an agreement between the U.S.A. and Ecuadorian governments to form a team under the auspices of the Ecuadorian Ministry of Public Education and the University of Massachusetts. According to this agreement, the purpose was to create and try out alternatives to normal school routines in rural areas. Because of the limitations of the contract, a large part of our work was oriented toward the designing of educational methodologies that will be described in the following chapters. But our first consideration and commitment was our work with the groups of community instructors as both educational and extensionary agents, with whom we prepared learning experiences oriented toward the achievement of basic skills for organization. Thus, the campesinos themselves could apply these skills to their own growth and to their needs in confronting conflict and in making decisions.

Now then, like any other conceptualized and accepted concept within an institutional framework, the Nonformal Education Project would serve various purposes. For some, it would serve as an effective process for the liberation of the pueblo (town), serving as a catalyst to bring about a consciousness of social and political transformation. For others, it would be converted into a more subtle weapon of oppression and manipulation, which preceding structural change, would only facilitate domination and affirm dependency.

THE CONCEPT

Given that all of the members of the team came from different experiences and represented various and sometimes completely opposite class, ethnic and economic backgrounds, it is very difficult to speak in consensus (due to the diversity of the team) as far as the concept of Nonformal Education is concerned. For example, one of the first documents states:

> The prospects for significant improvement and, more importantly, substantial expansion in the size of Ecuador's formal education system are very limited. Ecuador now spends 4% of its GNP or about 25% of its national budget on education. Even the most optimistic estimates of rates of economic development indicate the impossibility of significant increases in the number of people served by the formal educational system. When combined with the inability of the schools to provide content and skills which are functionally useful to rural peoples, the need for serious experimentation with other approaches to rural education becomes very evident.[10]

This affirmation, obviously functionalistic, as it only heeds the quantitative aspect of education, opposes the opinion of many of the Nonformal Education Project investigators. The option to create alternative systems to formal education without revising the implicity values will result in serving the very same interests. Continuing along these lines, the Project would become transformed into a reformist program.

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On the contrary, as two coordinators of the Project affirm:

> We believe that education should be a road to cultural, political and economic consciousness, by which both the people involved in this process and those on the outside will unite their forces so that the struggle will culminate in equality, mutual respect, and a common purpose. . .[11]

The emphasis in this case is more on the process and kinds of unity among individuals during the initial organization period than on the actual content itself. What is the importance of the accumulation of information, or the pure learning of "marketable skills" if the individuals and groups continue to be dependent economically and psychologically, while being controlled politically.

> We believe that fundamentally, an educational program based on liberation places responsibility on the individual to seek his/her own education. If we continue to entrust education to outsiders or foreigners, we will continue to maintain this system of isolation and separateness. It seems that this dichotomy has been created to avoid participation toward social change.
>
> We could see that only on rare occasions does the campesino make free use of his/her word; that is, s/he rarely has his/her say. Organizations that have "permitted" the campesino to have his say are practically isolated cases. We still see organizations that are supposedly working with the farmers and yet do not permit him/her to express his/herself. On one occasion, one fellow campesino said:

> "Outsiders even tell us what to think, they tell us what we have to do,,how we have to act, without even telling us why. All they give are recipes and formulas,but these are based on their own assumptions and pre-judgements."[12]

Actually, within the simplistic model of economic development, it is suggested that education supported by incentives of different natures can incite the transition of a traditional society to a modern one.[13] This premise maintains that modernization will produce economic expansion, and will consequently transform the social structure. Now, setting aside the discussion of economic expansion as equivalent to the general improvement of life styles, we want to concentrate on the role of education as an instrument of modernization and/or transformation. When persons modify their conduct (as the effect of an education process) with the sole objective of bettering their standard of living, they are automatically renouncing their power to transform the situation in their own terms. From then on, any changes in them will only be a reflection of what is happening around them; a ratification of the education of which they are the object. The environment that surrounds them, due to its traditional nature, cannot transform itself and will be successively reinforced each time that the individuals modify their conduct.

Because of its repetitive condition, this relation becomes a vicious cycle. It will end up symbiotic, to the extent that the maintenance of traditional society will need these changes or "modernizations" to continue its existence. Therefore, not all the phenomena of modernization imply transformation in the sense of substance and structure, but all transformations share the process of modernization.

Our challenge, then, during the designing and conceptualization of educational rather than formal methodologies was as follows: how to generate processes that fostered the phenomena of transformation rather than pure modernization! The interent conflict of our role was the contradictory affirmation that in accepting the institutional affiliation, we were seeking a non-institutional development. In sum, we were representing a traditional society, we were reflections of it; nevertheless, we did not want our actions to cause dependency. With this and other contradictions of a structural nature we developed the nonformal concept.

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A mixed group of members of the team and functionaries from the Department of Education formulated the following characteristics of Nonformal Education:

I. Regarding its focus on the community:

1. Sponsors solidarity and companionship.
2. Creates channels of communication with the community.
3. Is oriented toward a critical analysis of political, social and economic reality.
4. Directs its action toward group work and self-criticism.
5. Promotes both community growth and that of the individuals within the primary groups.
6. Does not discriminate against individuals nor make a hierarchy of their needs.

II. Regarding its relevance and humanism:

1. Its content has a short-term usefulness, and is determined by the community itself.
2. Develops critical and committed consciousness with the transformation of the physical and social environment.
3. Utilizes methodologies where all may participate in a creative process.
4. Provokes self-appraisal.
5. Takes into consideration the different learning styles and necessities of the individuals.
6. Produces identity of the individuals in the context of the fixed objectives of the learning group.
7. Stimulates leadership participation and shares the responsibility of the action.

III. Regarding its flexibility:

1. Can take place anywhere.
2. Has an open schedule and learning time is unlimited.
3. Invents its own resources for learning.
4. Creates concepts and constantly re-defines the current situations of the participants.
5. Avoids pre-established curriculum.

These affirmations, more idealistic than realistic in our work, have been of extreme importance both in the structuring of training experiences and preparation of the materials, and in the creation of environments where learning-growth relationships took place. It was necessary to establish a goal, a road to guide the total action. These characteristics, however, have undergone constant revision. The process of that revision became a kind of mechanism incorporated right into the Project, which made it possible for its members to develop their own consciousness. That is to say, the said characteristics were also the determining boundaries of the culture and mode of interaction among the Nonformal Education Project team. In short, numbers I and II, which especially apply to human and group relationships, were the course and policy of the original concept; and what is more, the backbone in the relationship of those whom we were working. For many "impartial observers" our humanistic community focus and orientation was merely a more-than-traditional process that emphasized speculation and dialogue and omitted technology. Elitist science, on the other hand, proclaims the death of idology and recommends granting each individual only the amount of necessary knowledge for him to become a good citizen. Every group that questions motives of affiliation will in turn result as a threat to order and tranquility. In this sense our "observers" were right, as we never supported programs that were either weakened educational experiences nor those based solely on the acquisition of skills that convern the person into an exploitable material product. Reading, writing and arithmetic--when present--were only vehicles for reaching an integral and harmonic community development. And these same common curriculum materials were used only when the group solicited them.

NONFORMAL EDUCATION: "A System of Distribution"

Perhaps one of the greatest risks that we who serve the changing and creative purposes of the social sciences are running is that we do not have the capacity to control the practices that yield the eventual results, whether they be instruments of measurement or methodologies of teaching or

development. The basic thrust of our efforts sought ways to reach the town. We pursued channels of communication with the community. Through this pracitce it was possible to return the sovereign right to the town to determine its own future and course of existence. Nevertheless, upon creating what is called "systems of distribution", we are also preparing other containers--generally more superficially attractive than thorough. These containers that in our case were holding elements with explicit characteristics, would leter be capable of transporting a more diverse range of materials and not necessarily those that the community would demand. Perhaps today the content applies to Nutrition and Consciousness. And, to quote one example--tomorrow it could be Birth Control and Conformity.

In all cases, those of who participated in the Ecuador Non-formal Education Project were aware of our responsibilities and of the implicit dangers. To publicly share the results would mean running the risk of these findings being transformed into either weapons of social repression, or legitimizing evidence for an inadequate, even sometimes inhuman social order.

On the other hand, to keep these results a secret--if this were possible--would mean losing the opportunity to communicate with the growing number of people in our hemisphere who find themselves searching for new forms of work, and orienting their efforts toward the building of a more just society. We have adopted the strategy of sharing freeliy in the hope that those who now have bureaucratic or academic responsibilities will revise their procedures. And, as well, for the sake of those who are now ahead, that they will continue their struggle with more efficient tools, assured that we too, in Latin America, are on the same level as they are in this search.

# FOOTNOTES

1. See the chapter on "Facilitator Projects" in this document.
2. The opposite of learning-dependency relationship, so well known as the functionalist answer to the problems and demands of "development."
3. A mat used for bedding, made from the totora, an aquatic, sponge-leafed plant.
4. See D. Bonilla, G. Castillo, O. Fals Bonda, A. Libreros, "Popular Cause, Popular Science, A Methodology of Scientific Consciousness through Action." (La Rosa, Serie "Por Ahí es la Cosa", Bogota, 1972.)
5. Oswaldo Hurtado, Two Superposed Worlds, INEDES, 1971.
6. See Alternative, "Liberation, of which class, of which woman?" 10-23 March, 1975. Bogota.
7. Understand that "delinquency" is a relative term, due to its broad definition and to the motives that may cause a person to commit morally or lawfully unacceptable acts.
8. The Commerce, "Study of the Center of Demographic Analysis", January 26, 1975. Quito.
9. See Alfredo Castales Samaniego, "Tungurahua", Quito, 1961.
10. D. Evans and J. Hoxeng, "The Ecuador Project", Technical Note #1, p. 5. Translated by Clara Clason (Underlined by author.)
11. C. Moreno and E. Tasiguano, "Facilitator Project" (internal, unpublished document), second part, p. 2, 1975.
12. Op. cit., Second part, p. 3.
13. What is meant by modern society is the ideal of social science, free from values that presuppose that all social systems have a "neutral and objective" explanation. Furthermore, that corresponding societies pursue the same material goals already reached by North America.

# CHAPTER II

# THE FACILITATOR MODEL

# THE FACILITATOR MODEL

## INTRODUCTION

In order to place the facilitator project in its appropriate context it is necessary to understand something about the parameters of Nonformal Education in which the project was formulated and carried out. Contrary to what various theoreticians and experts profess, NFE is definable and its achievements are fairly predictable. Nevertheless, when concentrating on the search for definitions, one inevitably confronts ethical issues either moral or political, unless the participation in the search was particularly defined as amoral or apolitical. How can one become involved in an organization if s/he does not know what the scope and effects of his/her participation is? Surprisingly enough, a great number of consulting groups and academic organizations involved in NFE try to consciously avoid the question by refusing to clearly articulate their underlying motives. Academics say, "We are looking for knowledge per se and cannot concern ourselves with the political implications since by their very nature such questions interfere with the research process." Business consultants, on the other hand, proclaim that "the client is always right" and, as a consequence, produce NFE services that satisfy the interests of the institutions which are buying the services. Within these types of organizations, the concept of NFE, which is by no means new, is developing and taking form. Little by little the demand for NFE is increasing, since it is perceived as a system or subsystem that, in some cases, complements, and in others , supplements the formal educational system.

The traditional school system is considered too expensive and in economic terms, too inefficient, for poor countries. Drop out rates are extraordinarily high and with every passing day it becomes increasingly difficult to train the necessary labor for our country's industrial needs, thus, provoking great concern in the investment sectors of the United States to the north. On the other hand, social pressure increases because of unemployment, inflation and the energy crisis. The immediate response in the face of such a web of problems



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is the creation of a less expensive and more efficient educational system which, however, still functions within the framework of the present educational scheme.

In order to objectively define what education is in our dependent, and consequently, underdeveloped countries or what it is capable of becoming, it is necessary to outline the kind of society we would like to achieve; how we want to live and interact with each other; how to distribute income, and how we are going to govern ourselves. If, with NFE, we pursue the establishment of an egalitarian society founded on integrity, solidarity and respect, the underlying premises of education must be congruent with these concepts.

Many dangers in reinforcing superficial changes exist which, in the long run, only serve to perpetuate the status quo. However, at the same time, there are fundamental weaknessess in the system which we can use to open the door to the creation of an egalitarian society. It is important that we move forward to ferret out all possibilities for the creation of a relevant educational and institutional framework.

Our optimism resides in our conviction that the work of the project constitutes a major step in the development of self-determination and education, which once begun, cannot be stopped.

ASSUMPTIONS

Initially, the project functioned in some 26 villages on the coast as well as in the highlands of Ecuador. Each community named from one to five facilitators who made up the initial work group. The type of relationship we developed with the villages and the facilitators themselves varied greatly depending on geographic and cultural conditions, as well as on the expectations of the project staff and on the community members. Nevertheless, three elements held constant. First, complete and unconditional respect for the community's social and cultural mores, their values and their ways of life. The strongest conflict happened at the beginning of the relationship when the communities expected us to behave in the same ways as the traditional "change agent". Since we made every effort not to be condescending, the first reaction

was always one of wonder because we were not playing the patronizing social worker role. People were surprised because this kind of relationship did not fit into their problems; we did not offer them material benefits; nor did we bring a detailed explicit curriculum. In short, we were different, in the neutral sense of the word, we never considered ourselves better or worse extension agents with respect to other development groups. However, we still had to constantly deal with the peoples' role expectations of us. By extending all the customs involved in campesino hospitality--the traditional invitations, the toasts, the gifts, and the honor of serving as Godfather--they consciously or unconsciously tried to place us in an already familiar role, that of the institutional change agent. All of these attitudes and expectations are an integral part of the culture and, at the same time, are manifestations of dependency. Because these expectations of the social mores which had developed over generations of interactions, the NFE team never refused them, but neither did they accept them without question.

Secondly, using the real world as a base meant the acceptance of the campesinos and of ourselves as a part of a dynamic and historic process. Basing our work on this premise caused our patience to be tested constantly and showed us how full of contradictions our world was; that NFE in theory was one thing, and in practice,another. At times, out of frustration,we resorted to directive, authoritarian stances. More than once the team pressured the facilitators to organize literacy centers. Later when, due to low attendance, these centers stopped functioning we realized how mistaken we were in trying to force these strategies onto the community.

Using the real world as a base also meant admitting the existence of institutional limitations and of presently existing structures within which one has to function. Awareness of these limitations and an analysis of the obstacles helped promote the desire for change and for the ultimate act of change itself.

When a campesino was asked his/her opinion about NFE, s/he gave this explanation to both the members of the project staff and to his/her friends:

> These last six months that I've been at the education center have been both good and bad for me. They've been useful because I've learned a lot about math and writing and about life. This gives me great satisfaction. They've been bad because now I have some concerns that I didn't have before and now I react differently. Let me tell you what happened recently.
>
> I went to the processing plant to sell my rice crop. The man in charge weighed the 800 lbs. as he had always done in the past. "You've got 520 sucres* worth here," he told me.
>
> Having checked carefully before hand, I told him he was wrong. He weighed it again without saying a word, wrote down something on a piece of paper and said, "You're right. Your rice is worth 620 sucres." Looking at him directly in the eyes, I insisted that it was worth more. Surprised he asked me how I knew that there was something wrong in his calculations. I explained to him that I knew math and other things, too. "Ah," he said rather perturbed, "these hillbillies that think they can read and write are becoming uppity."
>
> He made some more calculations on his paper while I stared at him. After a while he shouted angrily, "700 sucres!" I knew that my rice was worth more than 800 sucres but now he was angry and I did not want any problems.
>
> So you see, my friends, learning can be both good and bad.

Thirdly, when designing NFE activities which are oriented toward social participation, it was always important to consider the need for a substantial change in the political and social situation. It was also imperative to keep in mind the positions of all individuals and groups involved in the action. In other words, if we begin working from the historic reality of a society, we have to manage within its limitations and limits of tolerance. All social action implies a reaction that can be anticipated by the actors and certain reactions weaken the objectives which supported the original efforts. Only those individuals directly involved have the right to decide whether to implement or to refuse an idea. The facilitator can pro-

*one sucre = $.04 U.S.

vide information and support the decision making process but the ultimate strategy must remain in the hands of those affected by the consequences. NFE was conceptualized by the project as an instrument of social participation; all the other intervening activities such as literacy, cooperative theory, agricultural techniques were nothing more than steps leading toward that participation.

To review this section, we see NFE as a strategy for catalyzing the processes of social transformation. All the elements and principles and even the educational techniques that we have used are directed toward action, action that transforms society and commits people to that transformation.

## CONCEPTUAL FOCUS AND STRUCTURE OF THE FACILITATOR MODEL

The following section describes the conceptual base and structure of what we call, "The Facilitator Model".

### A. Learning Theory

The project developed from certain educational assumptions about people and their interaction with the environment -- that we intended to establish and confirm within the context of the implementation and culmination of the project activities.

1. that people have different learning styles which are composed of varying combinations of four basic processes: experience, reflection, conceptualization, and affirmation of reality. Consequently, educational activities should contain elements of all four processes.
2. that people learn more easily in situations of mutual respect, cooperation and trust. Thus, the affective aspects of an individual cannot be divorced from their intellectual and cognitive growth.
3. that people learn when the subject matter is immediately relevant to their existence.

4. that people learn when they set their own goals and actively participate in the decision making process in the learning environment. In such activities, individuals are the subjects of the learning process.
5. that being part of humanity and the act of learning both involve the active transformation (change) of the environment.
6. that people use their fullest potential only in dialogical situations.
7. that each person is a human being filled with a myriad of infinite experiences from which all can learn.

B. The Role of the Facilitator

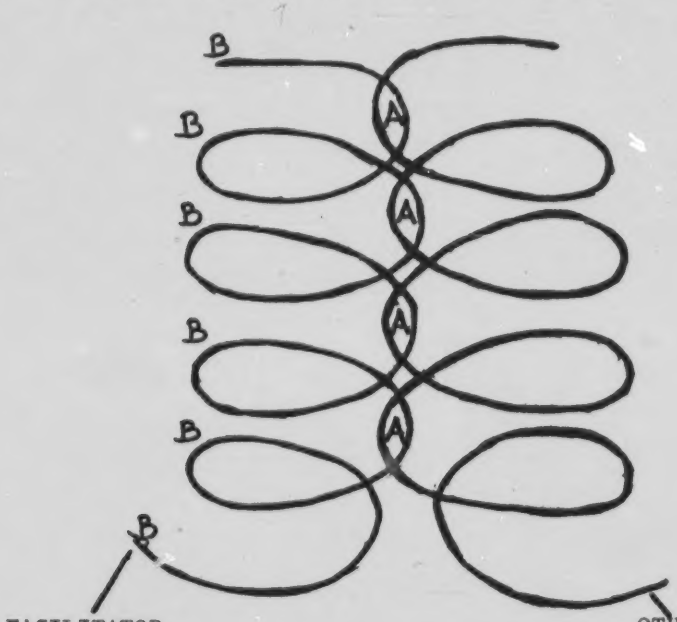
An integral part of the processes of selection, training, and support of the community members was the conscious modeling by members of the project staff of the roles and functions which each one of the campesino participants (the facilitators) was to play in his/her own village. As the facilitator's skills of critical reflection and observation grew, s/he acted as a catalyst in beginning new community activities or in envigorating already existing actions. Within these activities, the people of the village provided feedback to the facilitator about his/her own conduct and the community's expectations. Thus, the members of the villages critically reflected and constantly directed the activities within their own communities while also serving as modifiers of the roles and functions of the facilitator. At the same time, the facilitator gained additional insight into his/her own abilities and potentialities by the experience of learning and training outside of the village context which was provided by the project staff. The facilitator was further supported by our own ongoing attempts in all meetings to emphasize the increasing skills and abilities of the future facilitators.

Finally, the roles and functions of the facilitators were expanded and more finely defined with each and every activity outside of the village structure. The contacts with the civil authorities,

the church and with others continuously provided additional perspectives which aided the facilitator to shape and re-shape his/her role.

Perhaps the diagram of the double helix by Hampden-Turner[1] can best be employed to explain the ebb and tide of the facilitator's psycho-socio development as s/he moved through successive cycles in the continuous redefinition and reflection of his/her activities with the community from which s/he was both elected and to which s/he still belongs.

The double helix illustrates an individual's or group's capacity to act, learn, reflect and act again with increased awareness and skill on continuously different levels.[2]

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[1]Charles Hampden-Turner, Radical Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970), p. 39.

[2]At points A, the facilitator and the members of the community undertake clearly defined actions producing intense interactions among the participants. At points B, the participants reflect on the preceding events after which they return to act again at points A.

In general, we see rural extension programs caught in the dilemma of trying to combine action and reflection within the learning environment. Pure and compulsive action, albeit systematic and programmatic, results in a meaningless and limiting activity. On the other hand, reflection without action inevitably degenerates into an almost mystical contemplation which ignores the interaction of knowledge and the real world pulling mankind into a formal, esoteric search for knowledge for its own sake.

Today's educator must confront the ever present danger of fostering superficial change by losing the universal perspective through responding to the demands of the present institutions. On the other hand, s/he must face the threat of becoming paralyzed in face of complexity and interlocking nature of the highly unjust social order. Considering these forces against which we were working, we found what we did to be important and significant only when the actions were effective within the context of the community. During a meeting about the formation of a forestry cooperative, one of the facilitators said to us, "Now we are meeting in order to think and organize ourselves as a group. Before each of us walked alone and achieved little." It was only then that some of us who has been conceptualizing the project internalized the need for solidarity and group action as the primary cohesive strand throughout the project. Consequently, one of the functions of the facilitator was the creation of a supportive environment in which a sense of community and collaboration became the prerequisites of all action. As the facilitators and members of the villages grew together, each became a reflection of the other. Each day this relationship intensified and became stronger. This relationship blossomed as soon as the community members took an active part in the organic development of the village. In a sense, with this action new facilitators were "born". It is at this point that we can begin to speak about the existence of a community in the true sense of the word. Social participation acquires a new meaning--ACTION and REFLECTION. After reaching this point, it is difficult to retreat to old patterns since expectations about increased living standards and about one's own capabilities and the potential of the community have changed.

Implementing change strategies by involving the activist and the community provides the opportunity for everyone to see that transformation, in the broad sense, is feasible.

C. Experential Learning Cycle

Within the framework of social phenomena, causality suggests a chain of stimulus-response actions. In fully understanding this concept, a community finds that its committment to action results in still other actions which are, in essence, reactions created by the initial community committment. Consequently, it is important that the results of the initial actions are positive. For those individuals and groups of people who disillusion easily, frustration becomes a natural end. Therefore, we consider the initial process of critically analyzing the actual situation and its context to be vitally important. The experiential learning cycle is composed of a series of phases: actual experience, reflection about the experience, conceptualization, practice, and internalization. This process which formed the basis for policy decisions during the early stages of the project were tremendously effective in the growth and development of the campesino participants and of the members of the work team.

However, the repetitious nature of the process can easily lead to a vicious circle and to a meaningless ritual. Consequently, it is necessary to create points of dissonance or confrontation so that learning is consistently redefined. Only in this manner of constantly transforming the process and the content can the dynamic of collaborative learning and development be reached.

We have consciously chosen a dialectic road toward change and our obligation as "educators" is to create "ripples" in the world in which we function which will eventually cause additional changes.

At the same time, education for liberation means assessing our own fundamental and traditional beliefs in the values of an individualistic society. It means living collectively and collaboratively in order to create a better world. To a great extent the role of the educator is to destroy the myth that exploitation is inevitable.

D. Profile of a Facilitator

At this moment attempts are being made to determine the characteristics of a good facilitator and to define the significant variables of the facilitator model with the hope of replicating it in other countries. We view the future of such efforts with skepticism because by definition they deny the conscious participation of the community in the facilitator selection process. Facilitator characteristics can only be established by the community that elects him/her. Equally so, the selection process is valid only when the people affected decide on the procedures which are to be followed. Based on his/her own values and experience, the educator or change agent can decide that certain types of decision making processes are inadequate, buts/he does not have the right to impose such judgements on others. Impatience and the need for short term results can invalidate all the work done beforehand and even negate the humanistic principles upon which the project was founded. Only when one is involved in a dialogical relationship is it legitimate to suggest alternative processes and content for educational activities.

Speaking about a facilitator profile or a list of effective attitudes or behaviors that a facilitator should have is antithetical to our purposes. Such a position implies a lack of trust in rural communities and supports the concept of an external agent as an expert who knows the needs of the campesinos better than campesinos know of their needs. The inevitable results of this external and unilaterally determined criteria is acculturation since it tends to result in the selection of individuals who are very similar to the external change agents themselves.

Many rural and organizational development projects functioning in Latin America today have been influenced by a type of "behavior modification".[3] While on the surface appearing reasonably innocuous, the political content of pacification and reformism of such projects is great. It is for this reason that committed Latin American educators must maintain a critical awareness by constantly evaluating the implications of the projects that they sponsor.

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[3] Conflict Management, Organizational Development, Group Dynamics and Sensitivity Training.

About a year ago, while visiting the closing session of a facilitator course in Colta, Ecuador, we listened to the participants talk about what they had gained from the experience. In the heat of the conversation, amid phrases such as, "I have learned this" or "Now my eyes are wide open", one campesino said: "The most important thing that has happened to me this week is now I can look the white man straight in the eyes when he's talking to me." Without blinking an eyelash, he stared straight into the eyes of one of the members of the project team and continued, "and it's something I won't forget because now I can do so without fear."

The skilled researcher will immediately exclaim, "But how can we possibly evaluate principles which are subjective and which are so affected by other intervening variables!" Camus helps shed some light on this when he speaks of the contradiction of existential man who rejects the world as it exists without accepting the need to escape from it. The rebel "lies in his decision to be stronger than his condition and if his condition is unjust, he has only one way to to overcome it, which is to be just himself."[4] How can you evaluate justice or the search for freedom scientifically? Perhaps it is more appropriate a task for the historian to understand that:

> Freedom is a path made by walking. . .[the facilitator is] the one who lives within and is committed to people interpreting and loving the historic signs of his/her time, without rejecting his/her biography nor place in which s/he creates life. Freedom consists of living in radicalism, constantly reevaluating, understanding the anarchy of love and searching out the truth which is so often hidden. To live in freedom is to dedicate yourself to making history.[5]

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[4]Albert Camus, An Essay on Man in Revolt (New York: Vintage, 1956) p. 30.

[5]Educacion Hoy: Perspectiva Latinoamericana (Bogota, Columbia) IV, July-August, 1971, p. 1. Translated freely from the original Spanish.

## E. Selection of Facilitators

### I. Selection Process of First Generation Facilitators

One of the original principles of the facilitator project was that communities themselves would choose a team of 3 or 4 facilitators. We believed that in this way they would be more readily accepted by their respective communities, and being a part of a team, they would be able to develop more horizontal relationships with fellow villages revising traditional authoritarian patterns. Numerous experiences in the past have indicated that leaders are often rejected by their peers when chosen by outsiders. Consequently, because so much of the facilitator activity is based upon peer trust and confidence, the community selection process is of vital importance.

Facilitator selection for the initial project sponsored training programs functioned in the following manner. One or two project members would visit a number of communities within a given geographical area over a period of two or three days. The team selected communities on the basis of:

1. low previous intervention by development agencies,
2. relative accessibility to each other and to a major highway,
3. some demonstration of community participation in civic action, and
4. receptivity to the project goals.

During the visits, the project team would talk informally with random members of the communities trying to determine if they were interested in education and to invite them to select facilitators.

The reasons an individual volunteered to become a facilitator varied greatly. Hope for financial reward was certainly in the minds of many. Others saw it as a possibility of obtaining an educational experience in order to increase their capacity for work and action in the community. For some, the prestige associated with the title of community facilitator and the probable association with apparently powerful outsiders were important. Because the concept of a facilitator was totally new, few really understood what they were being asked to become involved with.

At one of the initial visits by the field team to Tutupala, Ecuador, a group of campesinos asked:

> What do you suppose these blancos (whites) really want? Why should they suddenly be interested in us? They must be either missionaries or communists. I remember those government people that came a while back and promised us running water and electricity, and then, nothing. Why should we get involved again? But did you see the guy with the glasses who drank the gourd of chicha?[6] After all, if we don't participate we won't know. Come on let's see what happens.

At this point, a general meeting was called in which the project field coordinator would present the facilitator concept to the community. The coordinators then suggested a series of qualities that they felt were important for a successful candidate.[7] The list of characteristics which we naively presented to the communities were the following:

1. a moderate level of literacy,
2. willingness,
3. residence in the community, and
4. acceptance by the majority of the community.

The community was then left to decide if the project was useful and who they would choose to be trained as facilitators.

In actuality, the "community selection process" came to mean a variety of things. In some communities the traditional leaders would simply name someone to be facilitator. Other communities held meetings in which people were selected in a more or less participatory process. In some, volunteers were automatically chosen because no one else was available.

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[6] A traditional Ecuadorian alcoholic drink made of corn.

[7] Later we would come to understand that this policy was a form of manipulation.

## II. Selection Process of Second and Third Generation Facilitators

The selection process used by the facilitators in their training programs differed from the initial process in several ways. First, it was much longer in duration. Facilitators (first generation) would frequently visit nearby communities over perhaps a six or seven month period talking with people about their experiences, discussing common problems, singing, or playing guitar music. These activities had no precedence in relations between certain communities because of previous traditions of rivalry.

Second, this process was a more natural, spontaneous process because the facilitators did not visit the towns with the expressed intent of training new facilitators. The suggestion for training arose more or less naturally from the interest generated by the enthusiasm of the facilitator, the novelty of their approaches, and the concrete results of facilitator community activity.

Third, where in the original project run programs, the team chose participant communities on the basis of certain criteria, subsequently facilitators offered their learning experiences to any community which showed interest.

And finally, the facilitator trainers played a more direct role in the selection of the program participants. Over the months of visiting communities, the first generation facilitators had developed strong relationships with certain people who by their conversations and participation in activities, demonstrated a sustained interest in the work of the facilitators. Some of these people may have been old acquaintances of the facilitators, some relatives, some town leaders or some just interested strangers. While the trainer-facilitators actively recruited and selected participants, at the same time, they realized the importance of informing the community as to the nature of the project and the importance of asking for suggestions from the traditional town leaders.

In reflecting over the different approaches taken by the project field coordinators and the first generation facilitators in selecting communities and participants, one team member said, "We

came into villages with our big, beautiful cars, our fancy boots, smoking Marlboros, trying to explain an idea that, at that time, hadn't even been fully conceptualized. We dressed differently than the campesinos, behaved differently, and while speaking the same language, communicated differently. Sometimes we tried to imitate them and became condescending. That's all we knew how to do then. What credibility did we have coming into villages talking about non-formal education and concern for social justice? As the first generation facilitators promoted and designed their own programs, we saw this action as the natural bridge between the project and the new villages."

F. Training

During the course of the project eight separate facilitator training programs took place. Four given by the University of Massachusetts team, one in cooperation with Centro de Motivación y Asesoría (CEMA)and four given by the facilitators themselves.

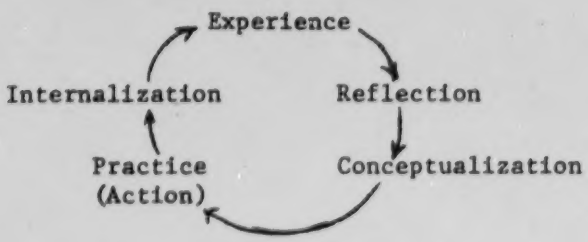
Although we recognize that the term, "training", has an ethnocentric and dehumanizing connotation to some people, we use the word internally in the project to describe the learning experiences. In reality, we use the word to refer to a series of learning experiences based on a dialogue and critical reflection. These activities were always designed and implemented with the participation of the community. We realize that the narrowness of language sometimes limits the ideas we are trying to convey, but rather than invent new words, we have chosen to redefine old one.

In regard to style, it is possible to differentiate between the training organized by the project staff and that conducted by the facilitators. In the first case, the experiences were more systematic and structure , and sometimes artificial. The "institutional culture" always remained, for good or for bad, as a reflection of us.

The training which was designed by the facilitators was authentic, emerging spontaneously from the culture, and therefore, stimulating open and honest conversation.

These distinctions did not hinder the concept of growth and development which was present in both types of training. The main purpose of the training was always the development of the potentialities of the community in order to break the myth that change always came from the highest levels of power. We hoped, with our participation, to create a level of activism which fostered the self-actualization of the community in order to promote the priorities of communal labor, group organization for decision making, redefinition of relations with the power structure (which always is located in the urban areas) and the increase of communication among the neighboring villages.

The training process followed the experential learning cycle and a continuous spiral, which at each level created an increased critical consciousness.




All of the activities were designed to model the sequence of learning. In spite of the fact that the trainer or the facilitator assumed the responsibility of designing and preparing the experiences, at no time was s/he isolated from the process and ramifications which developed.

The flow and choice of given activities depended on the trainer's perceptions of the group's and individual's development, but usually contained the following areas:

a. trust building in the group
b. negotiation of course objectives and schedule
c. team building

d. conscientización (critical analysis)
e. literacy and numeracy teaching methodology
f. project games
g. community goal setting and problem identification
h. problem solving
i. evaluation

With the cultural, linguistic, and ethnic differences of each of the regions in which we were working, each seminar was different in process and content However we'll try here to describe the general dynamic of the process which was constant and valid in all of the meetings.

I. Training Sessions

During the first week, the training sessions began with a short introduction about the background of the project. The trainers began the process of creating a climate of trust and mutual respect in the group through a series of experiences, that increased the level of communication among participants. Individuals paired off with someone they didn't know and were asked to spend about 15 minutes talking with each other about themselves, sharing the more obvious information like name, age, profession, to the more intimate, aspirations, concerns, feelings, and personal motivations. Returning to the group as a whole each person presented his/her partner. Besides providing everyone the chance to know something about each participant, this experience also allowed everyone to speak, and was a start at breaking through the "culture of silence".

In order to design the course according to the needs of the individual group, the trainers next asked the participants to divide into their respective community teams to discuss what they hoped to learn from the program. In the group as a whole, the resulting learn-objectives were written on the blackboard, discussed, and compared with the project objectives. On the one hand, this activity permitted each group to examine everyone's objectives visually, but more importantly it provided the initial support to reinforce the acceptance and

dignity of everyone's ideas. If the trainers felt that they couldn't meet some of the objectives, they explained their limitations; and if on the contrary, the participants considered some of the goals irrelevant to their needs, their reservations were discussed openly until consensus was reached. An example of the list of participant objectives is:

1. to learn more about literacy and the teaching and learning process.
2. to become respected by the whites and to defend ourselves from them.
3. to conquer our fears.
4. to think.
5. to speak with the whites so that they listen to us.
6. to obtain what we need, such as running water and electricity from the government.
7. to learn how to organize meetings.

At this point, participants and trainers negotiated the work schedule and other course related details. Hopefully, one of the results of these initial activities is that participants begin seeing themselves as having an effect on the training process and also on the possibility of effecting other elements of their lives. To summarize the day's activities, participants drew and captioned what had happened during the session. During the first day of the training, participants began drawing the trainers as giants. As the course proceeded, the drawings of the trainers and participants became the same size.

Depending on the atmosphere of the group, the trainers chose an exercise that was oriented more toward team building, opening up the group to discussion or one that moved immediately into critical analysis. In the first case, we might have selected the simulations, Lazurus and the Blindman, an exercise in which participants paired off, interchanging the roles of Lazarus and the Blindman. After about 20 minutes, the entire group talked about how they felt, their perceptions and how the experience applied to their daily lives and to the community as a whole.

Sometimes they began discussing different leadership styles and categorizing the conduct of authority.

In the cases where it was decided to work directly with consciousness raising, we began with questions such as: "Who am I?" "What are my abilities?" "Can I do anything?" These questions have a certain introspective quality which served to stimulate self awareness, which because of colonization, was almost entirely lacking. The training leaders took the role of guides as opposed to lecturers encouraging participation and analysis from the group. In many cases at first, the participants shared secret frustrations, depressing past experiences and humilating situations. This phase was important because it was valued by all members of the group. In this process of "naming the past", the participants found common concerns which produced a cohesion and group identity. At times, it produced long moments of silence.

Sitting in a circle one of the trainers began an exercise designed to critically analyze the participant's relationship to his/her environment. After a short lecturette emphasizing that while the conditions man is born into are different, those differences should in no way make man feel inferior to those around him. Stress was placed on the universal characteristics of man. "The blood that runs through all of us is red. White people, mestizos, Indians, Blacks, orientals, men of different races are all born with hands, feet, eyes, and the capacity to think. Why should we feel inferior? At what moment in our lives did we lose our ability to be human beings? Could it be, perhaps, the day we were born Indians? Were we, perhaps, born missing a vital organ?"

A silence filled the room. One man responded, then another until the room was filled with conversation. "No, our lives are different because we live in rural areas that are poor. My village doesn't even have a school. The children must walk 5 miles to Balsayan and then the teacher often doesn't come. There are no books. In the city, children go to big schools with libraries and buses that take children

to school." Little by little, they delineated the contradictions within the rural areas--between the cities and the country. At first, they rationalize: "The hacienda owner is rich because he owns a lot of inherited land and it in is inevitable that we work for him. Everyone takes advantage of us and treats us badly. Lawyers take our money and do nothing for us; doctors tell us we have trouble with our livers and prescribe expensive treatment; venders in the markets overcharge us." This rationalization is to justify passivity and non-action.

To challenge participants into further analyzing their purpose and relation to life, the trainers asked each person to thoughtfully examine the questions, "Who am I?" "For what reason do I exist?" In varying degrees of awareness, people began to verbalize elements of their own existence and relationship to society.

This practice of abstraction was further supported by exercises such as "Hacienda" which attempted to create the foundations of critical thinking and analysis. In this context, the conditions in which the campesino lives slowly lost their sense of inevitability and of God's will. The conditions were changed into tangible realities. Poverty and backwardness were demystified in proportion to the amount of analysis. "Hacienda" at times took all day, but in the process fundamental issues were raised for the group.

Building upon the "Hacienda" experience, the trainers may decide to analyze a general theme from the dialogue. Using a photograph, for example, they discussed, "Why are we poor?" The image of poverty which was captured in the photograph was decoded using Paulo Freire's methodology. The participants broke into small groups to discuss the reasons for their poverty, each member having an opportunity to contribute his/her opinion. After an hour of analysis, the entire group came together to share and debate their conclusions. Some participants tended to blame themselves for their conditions. "We drink too much, we're apathetic, we don't think, we have no education,' we aren't organized", ignoring the structural limitations which the social, political and economic system placed upon them. At this point,

the trainers reacted to each question with "Why?" in order to cause the participants to analyze the conditions of their lives. Each one began to question his/her own consciousness (magical at first) and later began to see the relationship between cause and effect in his/her life and the existing contradictions.

An effect of such patient and continuous work was the transformation of self pity into active participation. Analyzing the causes and effects of the situations, the groups of campesinos destroyed the myths of inferiority and inevitability.

Probing deeper into the reasons for their poverty, the group clarified certain vulnerable areas in their lives which needed to be strengthened: leadership, organization, relationship with authorities, communication, awareness of exploitation networks.

Various experiences which provided time to reflect about these important areas were presented: a sociodrama demonstrating various leadership styles, a ring toss game showing different levels of risk-taking and their relationship to decision making, a communication exercise involving the nature of rumors and misunderstandings, a puppet show presenting several aspects of the local power structure, a song reflecting social concerns. In the end, all of these elements served to assess the real world by casting doubt on the social taboos which are fundamental to the existence of an egalitarian society.

At the end of a week of meetings, the participants met with members of their own communities to again discuss, analyze and then redefine their community's most pressing problems. On occasion, they drew maps of their villages and their outskirts in order to visualize the relationships between the problems, the priorities and the realities. Location within the geographic context is crucial and is linked to the previous concept of pinpointing the socio-economic conditions.

Summarizing the first week's activities, the course built: confidence and mutual respect on the individual level; a spirit of solidarity on the group level; a critical knowledge of the social forces which invade rural life; practice of the analytical skills related to

group reflection; and awakened an awareness of critical consciousness. An interesting aspect of this week was that while the group was submerged within the dialogical process which changes its consciousness, the individual participant was also internalizing the skills that s/he would be using in his/her community. Thus, it was a process in which each one gained in critical awareness (including the organizers), and at the same time practiced the skills that would continue the dialogue and the action.

In the second week of the training, emphasis was placed on providing the participants with an overview of the educational materials and concepts which had been pulled together by the project staff. This week could also begin with a discussion of traditional education and its effects on the campesino population. This analysis did not take place in a vacuum since the first week's discussion created a broad base, while the relationship between the participants had matured. The initial anxiety with its diverse roles had disappeared almost entirely and had been replaced by a cooperative, cordial environment. Although the participants were not aware of the structure and content of future activities, they were no longer threatened from the unknown because of the presence of a previously created environment of mutual trust, cooperation and interest.

There are many activities that can be employed during the second week such as the following:

1. Brainstorming, in which the question, "What do the teacher and student bring to the learning and teaching process?" was posed. Different lists of the characteristics and contributions which each one brought were defined. The teacher brought: knowledge, wisdom, teaching materials. The student brought, by contrast, ignorance, nastiness, bad behavior. The responses derived from the process of brainstorming prevented participants from rationalizing their responses. An analysis of the responses was made by the participants enabling them to discuss their stated attitudes toward students and their perceived behavior.

2. Sociodramas, in which the organizers and the participants role played different types of teachers: authoritarian, lax, benign,

paternalistic and others. In this way they role played the ideal teacher's cognitive and affective style.

3. A combined method of introducing the alphabet based on the methods of Sylvia Ashton Warner (an organized system of the introduction of words which are fundamental to the learner) and on the method of Paulo Freire (generative themes). This systematic combination suggested six or seven ways of introducing the learner to the critical first steps of literacy. It was an effective group technique. After reflecting critically and conceptualizing, the participants spontaneously began to practice. Sometimes these sessions took place in literacy centers with the aid of adult education teachers. Although these teachers did not yet agree with our unorthodox methods of teaching, they lent us their facilities.

4. Direct relationship with the members of private and governmental agencies. Frequently during the second week, we were visited by representatives from such organizations either out of curiosity or simply for administrative reasons. These visits often caused unwarranted distractions but they also provoked heated discussions at times, in which the campesinos had an opportunity to confront and challenge authority figures. For example, during the visit of one official, he began his discussion in this way:

> It is a pleasure to be here today to witness your efforts in preparing yourselves to be more intelligent participants in the life of our nation. The intelligence of the human being depends on the social environment to which he belongs. . . .

Some of the group looked uncomfortably at one another and slowly raised their hands.

> Excuse me, doctor, but I don't think that is right. We are just as intelligent even though we have been raised in and live in our humble villages and even though our parents did not speak Spanish. The only difference is that we did not have the opportunities that other more fortunate individuals did, but that does not mean that we or our children are fools.

This tense situation was considered as a learning experience by the facilitators.

In another situation toward the end of one session, the arrival of a foreign official, the Dean of the University of Massachusetts School of Education, sparked a short but intense conversation. Dean Allen walked up the hill obviously enjoying the brilliant day and the spectacular scenery around him. Below was the legendary lagoon spilling out over the valley, surrounded by mountains in greens, yellows, browns, and oranges. In the distance, the massive snow covered sacred mountain, Chimborazo, dominated the paramo.

Greeting the participants through an interpreter, the Dean spoke of the beauty. A facilitator asked him what the beauty meant. "For me, this represents the beauty of Nature with its infinite textures and colors," emphasizing the miles of small parcels of cultivated land with their patches of bright colored crops. The same facilitator responded:

> If for you, this represents beauty, for us, these patchwork lands represents the oppression and exploitation in which we live.

5. One of the training strategies which appeared constantly throughout the weeks was the division of the participants into work groups. This almost always created experiences of intense, challenging dialogue which rarely occurred in the life of campesinos. The groups were divided by interest, by area, and sometimes, by chance.

II. Training Problems

One of the underlying premises involved in effective training was the establishment of an atmosphere of trust and confidence. Unfortunately, due to the external pressures on the project to allow officials and visitors to participate, trainers had difficulties maintaining the level of inter-group confidence. Offering materials and promises of jobs, the observers behaved in the traditional authoritarian manner, reinforcing the very paternalistic relationships which the project was attempting to change. These visits also caused breaks in the flow of activities. Because experiences follow a design based on a cumulative build-up of shared activities, observers intervening at random interrupted the flow of the patterns.

Fear that the project was either communist or evangelist sometimes limited the participation. The educational fair, an independent activity on the part of the facilitators, illustrates an incident involving the use of a truck which belonged to the Ministry of Education which we were using to deliver audio visual aids. The bus, painted with the words "bibliobus" (mobile library) Ministry of Education, was thought to be advertising biblical activities in an anti-catholic community, and the truck was stoned.

Occassional logistical problems occurred which caused minor inconveniences. In the first two training programs, Banos and Cachisagua, difficulties occurred concerning presentations of methodologies and materials. The Banos group did not capture the 6-step literacy method until they were able to practice the method at length in literacy centers in Quito. Being the first Quechua group with which the project worked, problems for trainers in Cachusagua centered around language and culture. In developing "Hacienda" a project field coordinator had carefully translated the game into Quechua only to discover that the participants did not read the language and had never seen material written in Quechua. Because the economy of Cachisagua is based on the barter system the game, "Mercado", which uses money as a means of exchange, was not understood.

Sometimes religious conflicts between Catholic and Evangelist participants seriously fragmented the group. However, the situation provided an opportunity for open discussion and in many cases a beginning at reconciliation between factions.

## DELIMITATIONS OF THE FACILITATOR MODEL

The facilitator model is a concept that cannot be defined in scientific terms nor talked about as a concept with specific and predetermined characteristics. For the Project staff the concept has been more of a dialectical process that has been in constant re-definition. To speak of the facilitator model as a pre-packaged training component is to negate the creativity and power of the campesino or any other people to continuously recreate the world about them. Thus, the train-

ing process described in this chapter should not be looked upon as a series of workshops or exercises that after two or three weeks will change the social behavior and the societal conditions of a person or a community. Such change takes years if not generations.

## Sierra Community I

Just after dusk, campesinos begin to leave their mud-walled houses and walk toward the school. They have no light; their feet know every bump of the half hour walk. By 7:30 about twenty-five people are collected around the dark concrete-floored building. One of the campesinos arrives with a petromax lantern and a key. They all enter, and after suitable pumping and preparation the room is reasonably well lighted. There is still a constant problem of shadows, as the lamp cannot be hung high enough for the light to shine down from above. Three of the campesinos take charge; until this time they were undistinguishable from the rest of the group. Two circles are formed; the participants use the school's desks or sit on the floor. One group will choose a game from the three or four which the facilitators have brought. The other will use the Ashton-Warner adaptation ("el método de Sylvia"), writing in notebooks and on the board. People choose their group. The game proceeds with much more interpersonal assistance than competition-conscious Americans would be comfortable with. Each player is surrounded by at least two fellow participants acting as coaches. Play is intense, but is punctuated by outbursts of laughter. The Ashton-Warner group concentrates on writing in notebooks, aided by two of the facilitators who circulate quietly among the intent students.

After two hours, the groups come together to talk over some of the ideas which have emerged from the Ashton-Warner group. This night the discussion centers around the possibility of obtaining running water for the community.

The facilitators guide the conversation without dominating it. They ask question after question. Participants aged twelve through fifty contribute their ideas, receiving positive reinforcement from the facilitators. No conclusion is reached; there will be time for that in coming sessions. As the session ends, one of the participants makes an announcement in his capacity as chariman of the town council and leads a short discussion. About ten o'clock the lantern is extinguished. Small groups move off in a dozen directions, wrapping their ponchos more tightly against a cold misty rain. They leave quickly; the work day begins about 5:00 a.m.

## Sierra Community II

From the moment we entered the village, the scene was ugly. Ten, fifteen, then twenty towns-people surrounded our truck. It was too dark to see their faces. "What is the purpose of your visit?" bleated an excited, drunken voice. "Fire her!" cried another. "How can a damned Indian teach reading?" shouted Don Perpetuo ex-political boss of the town. Our driver feared for his truck, for his passengers.

Then, Don perpetuo's priggish daughter, very white, and stylishly dressed, spoke indignantly. "After all, a teacher who has sacrificed enough of her life to earn a degree must have something to offer, no? But don't get the wrong idea, I don't want the job. I am going to live in the capital."

The project's field coordinator calmly explained the philosophy of non-formal education, and the specific approaches employed by the project. "Perhaps an Indian girl who has just learned to read is better suited to teach campesinos than a teacher with a degree from the city." As he continued, the crowd grew still. Even Don Perpetuo's daughter began to demonstrate some interest in what was being said. Then Enrique added, "Of course, I am a full-blooded Indian myself."

There followed a profound silence. The crowd had been defused, and a very basic prejudice challenged.

Two weeks later, I returned to the same Sierra community for a day to get to know Eugenia, the facilitator who had been under attack that night. She was a fine and courageous person. She was still giving classes in her home for those who dared brave the threats of violence. That night's class was effective and intimate. She obviously cared for her students, and her work.

The village's two other facilitators had long since succumbed to the pressure and left. Although a crowd had once thrown rocks at her house, Eugenia would not be frightened off. In the Sierra community non-formal education is a gutsy business. She told of how she had been called a bitch and a communist, and then chuckled.

The driver and I had chosen to leave the truck well outside of town. It had grown very dark. We wouldn't have made it across the bridge to the truck without the light from her lantern.

As she accompanied us, Eugenia noted that, for all she knew, she might be killed on the way home. Then she chuckled.

As we drove off, we watched her lantern swing back up the hillside toward town.

# CHAPTER III

## CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS: A GOAL

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## PREFACE

This chapter, "Critical Consciousness: A Goal," not only presents the concepts of Paulo Freire translated into concrete behavioral components, but also the adaptation of Freire's consciousness-raising components as they relate to the Ecuadorean campesino.

The conceptual framework presented in the chapter is influenced by the non-Ecuadorean writer's cultural beliefs, values, meanings, and internalized world view. Generally speaking, there can be an academician value perspective of Ecuadorean campesino problems, and there can be an Ecuadorean campesino perspective of his/her actual or believed problems. The difference being the value perspective being presented.

Important to note is the fact that neither the Ecuadorean campesino, the focus of this chapter, nor the Project staff is free from the oppression that Freire articulates in his works. The socialization process in Ecuador as in the United States is highly censored and screened in information. The media controls the thinking and the education of the people. For example, in Ecuador the rural sectors receive selected and screened-out information and an educational process dictated by decision makers from Quito. In the United States, screened information in the form of magic is predominant in the media of television-the use of "X" product will bring the user instant love, the opportunity to succeed, the realization of one's dream, etc.

Thus, in the development of any conceptual framework one must be aware not to stereotype people. Often energies are misdirected when one begins to study the campesino to see <u>what there is in him/her</u> that leads to the oppressed social conditions of his/her life and a life of poverty. This perspective ignores viewing the distinctive patterns of social life among the poor as being determined by structural conditions of the larger society, beyond the control of the campesino.



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In translating Freire's concientización concept to the rural setting of Ecuador, the Project staff makes gross generalizations regarding campesinos behavior at times sounding paternalistic. The main purpose of the chapter is not to categorize campesino behaviors but rather to present a conceptual framework that has the potential of making any person aware of his/her actions and behaviors as they affect or have an effect on his/her life.

## CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS: A GOAL

### INTRODUCTION

The classroom is dark, lit only by the last rays of sunlight being filtered through the eucalyptus trees which stand nearby. The wind is cold and there are no windows to keep it out. The students are adult Indians; farmers, whose hands are ill fitted for writing. They do not seem to mind the cold. It is the teacher who rubs her hands together trying to keep warm.

The lesson is history: the story of how the white heroes freed the country from the hands of the Spanish tyrants. Tales of battles fought and won, of hardship and sacrifice in the name of freedom. The Indians listen and wonder.

Now the light has gone. The class is over, and the students return to their huts, ponchos wet with a gentle rain. There will be no fire to warm their hands.

One of the principal goals of the Nonformal Education Project was to question the content of rural education; to ask whether a new curriculum could not be found upon which to build a more relevant education. The reality described above was often in our minds. Is the history of the white independence movement of importance for Indian farmers? Is English important to individuals who cannot read and write in either their native tongue of Quechua or in Spanish, the national language? Is information about boiling milk important to farmers who cannot afford to buy milk? Or are nutrition charts which stress the importance of including meat in a diet relevant for people who eat meat once a month?

Initially, the Project's answer to these questions was within the mainstream of developmental thought. Our answer was "No." The problem appeared to be simply that the specialists did not fully understand the culture and needs of the people with whom they worked. The obvious solution, then, was to uncover those needs, and design a more relevant curriculum. Early discussions focused on this problem.

Eventually, however, a new understanding began to emerge. Several members of the Project staff were interested in searching for



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more liberating educational processes; in finding ways in which individuals could participate more fully in determing how they learned. This effort, together with a theoretical orientation influenced by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, ultimately led the Project staff to question the traditional concept of curriculum itself.

Curriculum experts determine learners' needs; select appropriate content; and then order this content in sequentially correct systems. This seemed to contradict the kind of participatory education in which the Project staff was interested. The importance of participation was no mere rhetorical commitment with us, but rather a deep belief that learning takes place only when the learner is participating fully in the educational process, as a subject and not as an object. Consequently the establishment of a cadre of "experts" who make all the decisions for the learner was not acceptable.

Having questioned the role of the experts, we were left with the problem of how educational content should be selected. Are all areas of knowledge, all information, all attitudes equally valid?

The Project's answer to this question became "Yes" and "No." "Yes", because if the learner is going to participate, he/she must help decide what he/she wants to learn. A group of campesinos, for example, showed great interest in the United States' space program. This appeared to outsiders as highly irrelevant to their problems. But, during discussion of the space program, the United Nations was mentioned; and the discussion ended with a questioning of the relationship of women/men to each other, their responsibilities and their rights. This was in no way a directed discussion; rather, a spontaneous attempt to participate in a world of which the campesinos were aware, but from which they were excluded.

We concluded that every area of human experience is valuable as educational content if: 1) the learner expresses interest in it; and 2) the process used to explore that area is critical, i.e., questioning. Strictly speaking, it is not the nature of the educational content but rather the process used to explore that content which is important.

But the answer was also "No." The Project staff saw certain areas of concern which took priority over all others. Rural people

appeared to be victims of oppression, a physical oppression which kept them poor and powerless; and a spiritual oppression which made them apathetic and self-negating. Unless this attitude changed, no amount of information and/or skill transfer would transform the basic quality of their lives. As long as they continued to believe that they were inferior to other men, they could not benefit from traditional educational opportunities.

This, then, was the first educational task, and became the primary content of the Project: rural adults were to be challenged to question their own lives, to uncover the contradictions in their lives and to begin to reconcile those contradictions. Once that process of critical awareness had been started, other more traditional educational content might be able to play a constructive role in continuing the process.

"Critical awareness" was not a concept developed by the Project staff, but rather was first described by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire as conscientizacao.

Freire, through his work in the slums of Recife, Brazil, began to conceptualize a process of consciousness-raising leading toward liberation, and toward what he refers to as "more complete human-ness." The product of this process he calls conscientizacao, or a degree of critical consciousness through which an individual is able to see reality as it truly is. He is able to understand the contradictions in his own life, to generalize those contradictions with regard to others around him, and to seek solutions creatively with others.

Freire contrasts this critical consciousness with two prior levels of consciousness which he defines as naive consciousness, in which a person over-simplifies and romanticizes reality; and magical consciousness, in which man adapts himself to a pre-determined fatalistic idea of reality. When a man submits to his own poverty because he believes that God has divided the world into rich and poor, and that God is beyond his control, he is demonstrating a level of magical consciousness. When a man believes that his poverty is the total responsibility of those who are oppressing him; when he decries the oppressor and wishes to replace him with oppressors from his own

group, he is demonstrating a level of naive consciousness. But when s/he is able to see poverty as the result of a series of contradictions in his/her life and in the life of the oppressor; when s/he is able to conceive of the oppressor as equally a victim of the oppressive situation, then s/he can begin the process of working together with the oppressor to transform the oppressive situation in which both find themselves. Freire says over and over again that liberation is not the exchange of one oppressor for another, but rather a process of transforming the situation in which oppression exists.

The work of transforming the situation is an interaction between reflection, thinking critically about the world, and action, doing something to transform the world. Reflection and action are not sequentially related. One does not necessarily precede the other. They are interrelated, and occur continually in a spiraling process of increasing critical awareness and critical activity.

Freire does not divide the world exclusively into oppressor and oppressed. He suggests the existence of a third class of individuals, the revolutionary leaders, whose task it is not to propagandize the oppressed but to work with the oppressed in a "co-international" education. This education takes as its fundamental task the naming of the world. Literacy in Freire's world takes on a metaphysical significance. By providing the power of the word, it also provides the individual with the power to name the world as it is. It is one thing to call the hacienda owner a patrón. It is another thing to call him an oppressor. Both names correspond to separate visions of reality. But the second vision implies that the reality must be changed. This process of naming is intimately related to the process of consciousness-raising.

However, Freire's method places such an emphasis on naming that it has been accepted by many as simply a literacy method. This method in one form or another has been used for several years and in various countries. Brazil was the first setting, where hundreds of "cultural circles" (Freire's basic working unit) were established in the northeast section of that country. Chile had a national program inspired by Freire's ideas for several years preceding the Allende regime.

Ecuador has recently begun a national literacy program, also based upon Freire's ideas. Numerous other groups around the world have read his books and discussed the implications of his concepts. But almost invariably when one asks about the results of Freire's method, one receives literacy statistics. Even Freire himself talks about how many people learned to read and write. As the number of individuals utilizing some form of Freire's method grows, less evaluative attention is being paid to the raising of critical consciousness and more to the number of literate products. While this phenomenon may be understandable from a practical point of view (it is easier to count the number of words a person can write than to measure how he perceives his world), it is unfortunate from a broader perspective.

In 1972, the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts, in conjunction with the Agency for International Development and the Ministry of Education in Ecuador began a Nonformal Education Demonstration Project in Ecuador. One of the goals of that Project was to utilize a modified form of Freire's methodology to demonstrate that such a method of literacy was more effective than the system then being used. As the Project staff, a mixture of Ecuadorians and North Americans, began to read Freire and to try out many of the ideas he proposed, it became clear that he had hit upon something very basic. The problem was how to translate that basic "something" into language which would allow everyone to understand what critical awareness means in terms of an individual's verbal behavior.

A series of experiments were undertaken, inspired by David McClelland's work on the development of the achievment motive. First, a draft code, or list of verbal behaviors was designed, based upon Freire's writings. Several groups of Ecuadorians were then selected, some who were thought to be high conscientizacao and others who were believed to be very low conscientizacao. These two groups were given a conscientizacao- related series of TAT drawings and asked several standard questions. Still other groups, of mixed levels of conscientizacao, were selected and presented with a series of exercises which were designed to increase conscientizacao over a period of time. In all cases, group responses were tape recorded and later transcribed. What resulted was

a rich sampling of principally rural Ecuadorian thought, as expressed in verbal behavior and as related to conscientizacao stimuli.

The next step in the developmental process was to analyze and compare the real-life verbal responses of oppressed peoples to Freire's theoretical framework. The task was to look for parallels; to add categories which Freire may have overlooked; to expand existing categories; and in general to make the theoretical framework more precise. This process resulted in a series of coding formats. By code we mean simply a system of classifying what the rural Ecuadorian said. Each classification had to be defined with sufficient precision so that not only Project people, but any reasonably intelligent and interested outsider could also code, or classify, the responses. A final classification system was drawn up, including an instruction manual and a set of practice protocols, or verbal samples. The instruction manual is now being tested and perfected so that a clear and logical product will result.

What follows is a summation of the final definitions arrived at through this developmental process. Freire's theoretical framework is translated into concrete behavioral components which, by increasing our understanding of oppression and of the oppression mentality, helps us to better understand the problem with which we are confronted. Ultimately, this will be useful in developing new educational tools designed to assist the oppressed individual to see more clearly, and consequently alter, the oppressive situation in which s/he finds him/herself.

## DEFINITION OF CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING COMPONENTS: THE "C" CODE

Freire describes conscientizacao as a process of becoming more fully human, a developmental process divided into three distinct stages: magical, naive, and critical consciousness. Each of these stages is subdivided into three aspects or characteristic responses to implicit existential questions: 1) "What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life?" (NAMING); 2) "What are the causes and consequences of those problems?" (REFLECTING); and 3) "What can be done to solve those problems?" (ACTING.) This paper describes the distinctive ways in

which an hypothetical individual names, reflects, and acts at each of the three developmental stages.

A. Magical, or Semi-Intransitive Consciousness

Wo/men at this first stage of consciousness are trapped by the "myth of natural inferiority."

> They know that they do things; what they do not know is that men's actions are transforming.[1]

It is this sense of impotence which prevents individuals from naming their problems in humanizing terms; which ties them to magical explanations, and which limits their activity to passive acceptance. Rather than resisting or changing the reality in which they find themselves, they conform to it.

> Magical consciousness is characterized by fatalism, which leads men to fold their arms, resigned to the impossibility of resisting the power of facts.[2]

NAMING: "What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life now? Should things be as they are? How should they be?"

Two levels of responses can be defined as characteristic of the naming aspect of magical consciousness: problem denial, and biological survival. At the problem denial level, the individual either openly denies that s/he has problems, or s/he avoids problems by locating them in another time or place. Ecuadorian farmers are often heard to say, "We do not have these problems." "Things used to be this way, when authorities did not bother to look for progress." Or, "We do not have haciendas here, these problems do not apply to us."

In each case, the facts contradict the individual's perception of these facts. While it may be true that haciendas no longer exist in some communities, the oppressive situation generated by the hacienda tradition remains. But because the individual feels unable to effect any change in the situation, s/he is unable to see the fundamental truth that the conditions themselves have not changed.

At the second level of naming, the individual is able to say that s/he has problems, but these problems are defined in terms of physical or biological survival. "Because we plant things the same way

every year, the earth gets tired." "With ten sucres we can't buy anything these days." Money will often become a central concern, as it will be seen as the only way to feed and clothe one's family.

> Men of semi-intransitive consciousness cannot apprehend problems situated outside their sphere of biological necessity. Their interests center almost totally around survival, and they lack a sense of life on a more historic plane ... In this sense only, semi-intransitivity represents a near-disengagement between men and their existence.[3]

It is this disengagement, this alienation from existence which prevents the individual from seeing the "facts" (poor land, poor health, no money) as problems. In his/her mind there is little or no chance of transforming the situation. The facts may change, but s/he is little more than a spectator.

REFLECTING: "Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame? What is your role in the situation?"

Again, this aspect of magical consciousness is characterized by two basic orientations: a dependence on superior powers for an explanation of why things are as they are; and a simplistic view of causal relationships. Freire says:

> Magical consciousness ... simply apprehends facts and attributes to them a superior power by which it is controlled and to which it must therefore submit.[4]
>
> Men confuse their perceptions of the objects and challenges of the environment and fall prey to magical explanations because they cannot apprehend true causality.[5]

One of the most accepted cliches concerning rural Latin American farmers is that they are fatalistic. The accepted response to a request that a friend stop by your house is, "If God wishes." Numerous explanations have been offered for the pervasiveness of fatalistic attitudes among rural farmers: the dependence upon climate, the importance of the Catholic church, etc. But the crucial factor which Freire elucidates is the inherent logic of this position within

the context of magical consciousness.

The individual who is unable to perceive his/her condition as problematic, but rather as simply a composite of facts over which s/he has no control, must rely on some external force to define and alter those facts. God, fate, luck, the "times", all play this role. In an oppressive situation this reliance goes even further than metaphysical forces; the power to transform the situation is also invested in the oppressor, who seems independent of supernatural forces and so becomes a supernatural force him/herself. The oppressor is the actor -- the subject of existence. This level of understanding results in humility, fear of the oppressor, and ultimately in a belief that the oppressor is always the winner. Examples of codeable responses include: "Things are in God's hands." "It is a question of luck that the hacienda owner is rich." "God doesn't want to give us any more, that's for sure." "They (the hacienda owners) are the ones who speak, and we are afraid." "We are afraid when they speak to us, when our babies cry on the buses and they call us bitches and horny."

The magical level individual will also empathize with the oppressor. S/he will demonstrate not only an understanding but a sympathy for the oppressor's problems. Seeing the oppressor as engendering many of the qualities of superior powers, s/he will identify power with goodness and rightness. God is not evil because s/he does not make it rain; neither is the oppressor evil because s/he makes the campesino work hard. Common responses from Ecuadorian campesinos illustrate this point clearly. "The hacendado is the most honest there can be. He pays his taxes which benefit the entire pueblo, and then they criticize him." "The poor hacendados." "When you say the priest charges a lot you don't take into consideration that he must also live, eat and dress."

It is typical of this stage of consciousness that individuals, while continuing to rely on magical explanations, will see simplistic causal relationships. "We can't study because we don't have any money." "Our Indian people don't go to school, don't study anything; that's why they don't understand anything." Men at the magical level of consciousness see the relationship between two events: money and school,

or school and understanding; but they fail to ask why they do not have money, or why they do not go to school. This question remains unasked because wo/men feel that the solutions are in the hands of others. They place blame on things (money, school) rather than on other people or on the interaction between events. In all cases this level of reflection leaves the oppressed individual with little or no opportunity for intervention in the situation.

ACTING: "What can be done? What should be done? What have you done or what will you do?"

Once the individual has denied s/he has problems, or has defined his/her problems exclusively in terms of survival "facts"; once s/he has analyzed the situation and discovered a dependence on God, nature, and the oppressor; his/her logical course of action is to resign him/herself to the situation, conform to things as they are, and wait for things to change. This resignation and acceptance are easily recognized in statements such as "There is nothing we can do." "We must wait for the patron to return." "This is the way things are." "But what can we do?"

Instead of resisting, the individual passively "plays host to the oppressor." Freire uses this term to describe a situation in which the oppressed individual provides sustenance to a parasite. If the oppressor believes s/he has the answer to the oppressed's problems, the oppressed is willing to wait for the answer. If the oppressor believes that the hacienda system is the only reasonable social arrangement, the oppressed is willing to accept that situation as beneficial. One rural farmer said, "If the hacienda owner makes money from the hacienda, we are given work by the hacienda. What would we do if the hacienda ever disappeared? We need it as much as the hacienda owner does."

The oppressor becomes the model of what is good. From his/her lands wo/men are given work. From his/her table they are given food, and from his/her charity they are given health. If the hacienda owner is bad, the oppressed must conform to his/her will and wait for him/her to become good. "What can be done?"... Nothing. "What should be done?"

. . . Wait. "What have you done?" . . . Wait. "What will you do?" . . . Wait some more.

B. Naive or Intransitive Consciousness

The move from magical to naive consciousness is a move from conforming to the inevitable facts of life, to reforming specific aberrations in a basically sound system. The contradiction which the naive individual faces is between an idealized system which should work, and specific violations of that system by evil or ignorant individuals. If those individuals could be made to"reform" their ways, then the system would function perfectly.

As Freire describes this attitude it appears to be both naive and romantic:

> The state of (intransitive) consciousness . . . is characterized by an over-simplification of problems . . . fanciful explanations . . . and fragility of argument.[6]

Wo/men over-simplify problems by attributing the causes to individuals rather than the system itself. Their explanations are fanciful in that they try to understand the individual apart from the system in which s/he operates, and this ultimately leads to arguments which dissolve in the face of reality.

> ". . . by nostalgia for the past . . ."[7]

In the past things seemed to work better. There may have been less comfort, less opportunity than now, but things were also less complicated; men understood what role they had to play. This idealization of the past is typical of the romantic.

> ". . . by a strong tendency to gregariousness, practice of polemics rather than dialogue . . ."[8]

Wo/men spend time together seeking mutual comfort and an escape from the problems of everyday life. They drink together and talk of better times, or of the hopelessness of their situation. When they talk of what "should" be done, they inevitably refer to what others should do, or what they must do to reform themselves or the individual

oppressor who is violating the system's norms. "Better" means making the status quo work; a better tomorrow can only mean a perfection of today's values.

> For the naive thinker, the important thing is accommodation to this normalized "today."[9]

NAMING: "What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life now? Should things be as they are? How should they be?"

The naive individual sees the ideal system (the church, the law, the government, the cooperative, as a provider, a source of support, with norms and rules governing its conduct. It is all right for the patron to pay low wages, but when an Indian is sick the patron must care for him/her. It is all right for the patron to own most of the land, but when the Indians bring him/her baskets of fruit and eggs* the patron must listen to their complaints. It is acceptable for the lawyer to charge a lot of money, but s/he must appear to put up a good legal defense. It is appropriate for the priest to charge for a baptism, but he must wear his best robes and have a "pretty" ceremony. Problem statements take the form of deviations from these norms, from the legitimate expectations of the oppressed, and can be either inner-directed or outer-directed.

Inner-directed norm violations refer to those incidents in which the oppressed sees him/herself as the problem; his/her uncleanliness, his/her habits, even his/her lack of education. Interestingly enough, education has become one of the ways in which the oppressed most conspicuously puts him/herself down. In Latin America, education was traditionally considered either irrelevant for the campesino or the responsibility of the patron. A new emphasis on literacy and on self-help projects has transferred this responsibility to the oppressed. Not only is the oppressed individual unschooled, but s/he is to blame for not building a school, or for not attending classes which are humiliating or irrelevant. Problem statements are straightforward acceptance of guilt: "I am not doing what I am supposed to do." Or, "The campesino doesn't study, the campesino doesn't work, the campesino isn't organized."

*This is a rural custom which parallels appeasing the gods before asking favors.

Outer-directed problem statements refer to an individual or group of individuals from the oppressor class who are taking advantage of their role and violating the rules of the paternalistic system. The important distinction here is that the statements inevitably refer to an individual or group of individuals, but never to a system. "So she (hacienda owner) sells the land to whoever, sells it in cash to those rich people who have money." "They (authorities) pay us but very little.

The statements of outer-directed violations are usually accompanied by indignation and rejection of the self or the individual oppressor. These statements clearly imply that things ought to change, that things should be different, that individuals should obey the norms. Examples include: "This is too much." "The laws should be like a tower, straight and tall." "The whites criticize us, they hate us, they turn us over to the bosses, the chiefs, thinking that all our lives we will live on the haciendas." "The owners who call us bastards, they hate us also. This is how we live."

REFLECTING: "Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame? What is your role in the situation?"

The process of reflection follows logically from the process of naming. The individual simplistically blames him/herself or s/he blames a specific individual or group of oppressors. This is part of the process Freire calls "playing host to the oppressor." In this sense the individual is playing host to the oppressor's ideology, to his/her beliefs. S/he is internalizing those beliefs and making them his/her own. This is an active process, a deliberate effort, as opposed to the passive acceptance described as part of magical consciousness. If s/he blames him/herself, s/he first accepts the oppressor's explanation for why things are as they are. "I know a boy who was born on a hacienda and could have made a fortune many times over, but he drank instead." "Campesinos drink because they are vice-ridden." "We are backward because we call people to meetings with a cow horn." These are all statements one could expect to hear at a cocktail party of oppressors. But they come from the oppressed, talking about themselves.

This acceptance of the oppressor's explanations leads to self-deprecation. The oppressed are constantly putting themselves down. "We live like animals." "We are dirty." "I can't learn to read and write." Many times the oppressed individual will refer to him/herself in the third person, "the campesinos, the people of the campo, the poor people, them", indicating that s/he sees him/herself as an object, acted upon, rather than as a subject, capable of action.

She will make negative references to his/her peer group: "That is the way these bastards are." "They go bad in their business and they become woman-chasers and drunkards." "They drink because they are vice-ridden." (These are all statements made by campesinos about other campesinos.) S/he will demonstrate a lack of confidence in self and peers, and engage in self-pity. "We don't know how to remember, we can't think, there is no one to teach us." Blaming his/her ancestors is still another way in which the oppressed individual places blame on him/herself. By accusing his/her family of having done nothing for him/her, s/he strikes out against his/her own cultural roots and consequently against him/herself.

If on the other hand the oppressed individual blames the oppressor for the norm violations, s/he will begin to make negative references to the oppressor, indicating an outer-directed aggression. S/he will see intentionality on the part of the oppressor. "They (the authorities) feel that only they should be privileged." "They want from the innocent." "The other families wanted to get a lawyer and did get him out of jail, but he was already beaten up, and if they had left him in jail the police would have beaten him more." S/he will see the relationship between the oppressor and his/her agents. "And what she told her workers to do, they did." S/he will begin to see contradictions between the oppressor's image of the system, and the real-life results. "We have the obligation to send our children to school, but we have no money to do it with." S/he will be able to generalize from one oppressor to another. "Not only lawyers take advantage of us, but doctors too when they always tell campesinos that they have liver trouble." "The agrarian reform law is like a new patron. We spend our money and get nothing." S/he will begin to see that problems are

between the rich and poor, and make statements which set the two groups against each other. "We have a problem with the boundary between the community and the hacienda." "The campesino works for the benefit of the owner."

The oppressed individual at the naive level of consciousness accepts that something is wrong. S/he can identify specific injustices and relate long stories of how s/he is exploited. But his/her understanding does not go beyond blaming individuals. S/he fails to see that a system of powerful forces act together to coerce both the oppressed and the oppressor. S/he naively, romantically, nostalgically assumes that individuals are free agents, independent of the socio-economic system in which they live.

ACTING: "What can be done? What should be done? What have you done or what will you do?

The individual's actions are necessarily related to his/her understanding of the situation. If s/he feels s/he is to blame, or his/her peers are to blame, s/he will work to alter his/her or their behavior. S/he will model him/herself on the oppressor's behavior. Education will take on more significance as the way to get into the oppressor's system. S/he will dress differently, try to look like the oppressor physically, and take on the oppressor's habits.

> . . . they live in the duality in which to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor. . . [10]

As a result of this contradiction, the oppressed have only two ways of relating to their peers. They may assume a paternalistic attitude mirroring the good patrons: "They need the help of a community leader." "I am the only one who is awake because the others are blind, not knowing how to read or write." They may become aggressive. This Freire calls horizontal violence.

> Chafing under the restrictions of this order, they often manifest a type of horizontal violence, striking out at their own comrades for the pettiest reasons.[11]

Examples from Ecuadorian campesinos include: "And we stay drunk, fighting with others." "The mayordomo had to pay me, but that Indian wouldn't do it." "They (other campesinos) called me deaf and dumb for being a Protestant."

A closely related form of horizontal violence is intra-punitiveness, in which the individual turns against him/herself and his/her family. Wife beating, whoring, drunkenness, and gambling are forms of aggression against the self and the family.

If the individual blames the individual oppressor for violating the norms, s/he will either seek comfort or form defensive associations. The first tendency is to band together and look for support in unity. But the unity will not necessarily have any external goal other than psychological comfort. After a meeting at which common problems were discussed, a campesino said: "We should have more of these meetings, keep meeting like this, it feels good." This gregariousness is useful in helping to break down the negative stereotypes which the campesino has developed about him/herself and his/her peers. But it can easily be transformed into an escape from reality and a reliance on cliches. "With union there is strength" is a commonly heard phrase in the rural areas of Ecuador. It was brought in by well meaning, white agents of change; but it has become simply another way in which the campesino blames him/herself for his/her own condition. "If we formed cooperatives we wouldn't have to wait on the rich man." "If someone has a penny, another pays the carpenter, another pays for the nails; then, with union and understanding, we have strength." In these examples it is clear that union is seen as a way of making things better, of reforming the situation. But it is also clear that the onus for change has been placed on the campesino, and that without outside resources his/her effort is doomed to failure. Such failures serve only to reinforce the negative concepts campesinos already have about themselves. They become self-fulfilling prophecies.

A second, more productive stance, is to form defensive associations in which the oppressed work together to protect themselves against outsiders. In some communities of the Ecuadorian sierra, whites are not allowed into the communities at all. More typically,

cooperative groups have been formed to protect the campesino from unfair marketing practices, or from overt exploitation. All of these groups are defensive. They do not try to change the system; rather, to "reform" it, and make it work better. This is the single most outstanding characteristic of naive consciousness.

C. Fanaticized Consciousness

Fanaticized consciousness is not one of the three principal developmental stages of conscientizacao, but rather a distortion which lies somewhere between naive and critical consciousness. Freire places a good deal of emphasis on the possible dangers of fanaticized consciousness.

> There is a close potential relationship between naive transivity and massification. If a person does not move from naive transivity to critical consciousness, but instead falls into a fanaticized consciousness, he will become even more disengaged from reality than in the semi-intransitive state.[12]

The emphasis in fanaticized consciousness is on massification; not the transformation of an oppressive situation into a liberating one, but rather the exchange of one oppressive situation for another. Through massification, the oppressed become tools, manipulated by a small group of charismatic leaders.

> Men are defeated and dominated though they don't know it; they fear freedom, though they believe themselves to be free. They follow general formulas and prescriptions as if by their own choice. They are directed; they do not direct themselves.[13]

Those who lead, do so through the creation of a mythical individual, the "super-ethnic", who embodies all the cultural stereotypes of the oppressed group. This "super-ethnic" becomes both the protagonist in a life and death struggle against the oppressor, and the ideal against which the oppressed must measure themselves. Rather than playing host to the oppressor, the oppressed are asked to play host to a distorted and irrational image of themselves.

> In the semi-intransitive state men are predominantly illogical; in fanaticized consciousness the distortion of reason makes them irrational.[14]

Polemics and emotional rhetoric are more evidence of this irrationality. In order to ensure that the oppressed will follow blindly rather than participating creatively in the transformation process, speeches replace discussion circles, and harangues replace dialogue.

Freire points to the prevalence of this attitude among "populist" leaders who appear to be genuinely revolutionary, but who in fact seek to control and manipulate the revolution for their own ends.

> Since the populist leader simply manipulates, instead of fighting for authentic popular organization, this type of leader serves the revolution little, if at all.[15]

NAMING: "What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life now? Should things be as they are? How should they be?"

For the fanatic the most crucial problem is the oppressor, the incarnation of evil, the enemy to be destroyed. Nothing good can be said about the oppressor. S/he is seen not as an individual equally victimized by the system, but as rather the demonic cause of oppression. Opposing the evil oppressor is the all good "super-ethnic." Ethnic values of the oppressed take precedence over any rational evaluation of the appropriateness of different values. "Typical" dress, traditional hair styles and common habits are idealizations through which the "super-ethnic" takes on concrete form.

REFLECTING: "Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame? What is your role in the situation?"

Genuine reflection is replaced by polemics, and emotional rhetoric. Standard prescriptions are offered rather than critical analysis. Any understanding of the oppressor is unscientific and favors harangues which decry him/her and his/her class as evil. The "system" is naively understood as a deliberate instrument of the oppressor class, rather than the result of historical processes which hold both oppressor and oppressed captive. Indeed the "system" is nothing more than a synonym for the oppressor class.

The people are no more than spectators at the oppressor's destruction; a convenient justification for the leader's own needs. Freire identifies this fanaticism with sectarianism.

> Sectarianism is predominantly emotional and uncritical. The sectarian wishes the people to be present at the historical process as activists,

> manoeuvered by intoxicating propaganda. They are not supposed to think. Someone else will think for them; and it is as proteges, as children, that the sectarian sees them.[16]

ACTING: "What can be done? What should be done? What have you done or what will you do?"

Action is directed toward massification and toward destroying the oppressor. Because the end is seen to justify the means, there is little or no time for dialogue with the oppressed. Charismatic leaders must arise who will lead the oppressed to victory. A new society is less important than the apocalypse which will purge and punish the oppressor. Participation must await liberation. Action is the imperative.

> Disrespecting the choices of others, he (the sectarian) tries to impose his own choice on everyone else. Herein lies the inclination of the sectarian to activism; action without the vigilance of reflection: herein his taste for sloganizing, which generally remains at the level of myths and half-truths and attributes absolute value to the purely relative.[17]

The sectarian, either of the right or the left, is doomed to failure; if s/he succeeds at all it is to replace one tyranny with another. For like the oppressor s/he hates, s/he is trapped by his/her own contradictions, denied a genuine relationship with the oppressed by his/her own myths.

> Sectarians can never carry out a truly liberating revolution because they are themselves unfree.[18]

D. Critical or Transitive Consciousness

At the third level of consciousness the issue is transformation of an unjust system, rather than the reformation or destruction of certain individuals.

This process of transformation has two aspects: 1) a personal self-affirmation and rejection of playing host; and 2) a conscious empirical attempt to replace the oppressive system with a system both just and maleable. Unlike fanaticized consciousness, the individual does not divide the world into mythical good and evil, but rather demonstrates a true understanding of him/herself and of the system which coerces both him/her and the oppressor into collusion.

> The critically transitive consciousness is characterized by depth in the interpretation of problems; by the substitution of causal principles for magical explanations; by the testing of one's findings and by openness to revision; by the attempt to avoid distortion when perceiving problems and to avoid pre-conceived notions when analyzing them; by refusing to transfer responsibility; by rejecting passive positions; by soundness of argumentation; by the practice of dialogue rather than polemics; by receptivity to the new for reasons beyond mere novelty and by the good sense not to reject the old just because it is old; by accepting what is valid in both old and new.[19]

NAMING: "What are the most dehumanizing problems in your life now? Should things be as they are? How should they be?

The oppressed individual moving into the third stage of consciousness comes to realize that no matter how hard s/he tries s/he cannot be like the oppressor; and s/he decides s/he does not want to be like the oppressor. A growing sense of self-worth allows him/her to reject the oppressor as a role model. S/he focuses upon his/her own ethnicity, not because s/he hates the oppressor and wants to be different, but because s/he wants to be him/herself, uniquely a person, honest about his/her heritage and his/her habits. In answer to the question "Should things be as they are?" s/he may respond, "No, because I am not allowed to be myself. I want to be me." or, "Everyone tries to control us, telling us what to be like. Why can't we decide for ourselves?"

It is not only the results of his/her relationship with the oppressor but the very nature of that relationship which becomes important. What the naive individual sees as the "good" patron, the critical individual sees as patronizing white liberalism. Anger and indignation result even if help, support and tangible benefits are the consequences of paternalism. It is more important to do it yourself and fail, than to have it done for you and succeed. "How can they help us? They are only trying to make themselves feel good, to appear as though they are making the revolution." "No matter what we do, they will take credit for our growth; but we know better." This is not a mere shutting out of the oppressor; it is a conscious effort to create something new.

Self-esteem, both personal and ethnic will replace negative references to self and peers. Instead of the "lazy campesino", more frequent references are made to the "campesino's solidarity" and the "campesino's understanding of nature." Stupidity and unfitness will be seen as products of oppression rather than inherent qualities. More and more references will be made to the ignorance and ineptness of the oppressor. S/he becomes a vulnerable individual, losing his/her mythical quality of omnipotence and the irrational qualities of demonic evilness.

The oppressed individual gradually comes to feel like a "subject" rather than an "object." Sentence structure increasingly emphasizes "I" and "we" as opposed to "me" and "us." Third person objectification of the oppressed (the campesinos, the poor) disappears in favor of "us" and "our problems, our strengths."

The individual comes to focus on the "system." S/he sees specific rules, events, relationships and procedures as merely examples of systematic institutionalized injustice. Deviation and deprivation are not the exception but the rule. The consequences are not unique to a single time and place and person, but long-lasting, wide-spread and generalized. His/her anger and indignation are not directed at an individual, but at the system which that individual represents. "Why blame Richard Nixon, the trouble is with capitalism."

REFLECTING: "Why are things this way? Who or what is to blame? What is your role in the situation?"

Being able to name the problem as the system and not as individuals allows the individual to understand 1) how s/he colludes to make the system work; and 2) how the oppressor colludes to make it work. S/he sees what "playing host to the oppressor" means, in terms of his/her own actions. S/he sees that while an individual hacendado may be evil, the problem is much more complex, involving historical tradition, vested interests, and political power. Understanding of one's peers replaces the self-pity characteristic of naive consciousness. Rather than constant references as to how put down "they" are, the individual begins to explain why "we" are the way we are. Instead of statements such as "They spend all day in the sun, poor guys.", the critical individual

says "We drink (alcohol) because we are poor and it hurts." Blame is placed on oneself, on others, and on the system of relationships which binds them together.

The oppressor is no longer invulnerable, but rather an ordinary wo/man with weaknesses and faults. As the oppressed's image of the oppressor becomes more realistic, his/her image of self and peer group also becomes more realistic. S/he comes to see that self and peers are not only good but also powerful. From the oppressive experience they have acquired a unique sense of purpose and a unique set of skills. Their struggle has made them strong, and it is this strength rather than the oppressor's goodwill which eventually will make them free.

Reflecting at the critical stage of consciousness, the oppressed individual is able to clearly define the contradictions between his/her own actions and his/her liberation goals. Subsequently s/he sees irony in these real-life contradictions. Speaking about religious festivals, an Ecuadorian campesino said, "Why do you think these fiestas are honorable? Are they valuable for getting into heaven?" The capacity to see irony in the events of his/her life helps the oppressed individual to generalize from one oppressive system to another. Not only does the individual see how the lawyer and the priest take advantage of him/her, but s/he sees the relationship between the banking system which denies a rural farmer loans because s/he lacks capital, and the religious system which requires the richest campesino each year to spend all his/her earnings on a festival for the entire community. Both systems operate to keep the campesino poor, and both are systems rather than the results of a particular evil individual.

> Critical consciousness represents "things and facts as they exist empirically in their causal and circumstantial correlations ... [20]

Critical reflection places emphasis on a scientific attitude toward the world, in considering both the system and how one has played host to the oppressor. The analysis goes beyond him/herself, and extends outward to macro-socio-economic spheres. The individual sees how world economics operate to coerce and manipulate the oppressed on a micro- or community level, and consequently perceives the need for group power to combat its effects.

ACTING: " What can be done? What should be done? What have you done or what will you do?"

Actions take two directions; toward self-actualizing and toward transforming the system. The individual must seek out new role models. A search for individuals who are neither fanatics nor oppressors is a good indicator of critical activity. Faith in peers is demonstrated through reliance on peer learning. "We have learned that we can learn from each other." Aggressiveness is directed against the oppressor and/or against the system. Reliance is placed on community resources rather than dependence on outsiders. Actions demonstrate the importance of community participation - - community defined as the extended oppressed group as well as a limited geographical area of residence. Accompanying a reliance on community there is also reliance on self which may appear to the oppressor as arrogance. New information, new perspectives are tested and revised according to the results of actions. Deliberate attempts are made to locate new information: reading, discussing, traveling take on new importance. Reflection and action become interdependent, a constant cycle of thinking and doing designed to improve the accuracy of understanding. This process Freire calls praxis, which is opposed to either excessive emphasis on rhetoric and hypothesizing which he calls naive verbalism, or on isolated actions which he calls naive activism.

Boldness and risk-taking become more and more a part of the individual's style. S/he is less afraid of change than s/he is sick of the status quo. S/he is more willing to act in ways which previously seemed dangerous and inappropriate. As s/he realizes that it is the system which is to blame, s/he is able to act in ways which the system defines as wrong. "Look, friends, when 50 of us go, they cannot beat up all of us." Or, "We should go directly to the head authorities." Both of these activities threaten the paternalistic system because they are outside of the accepted norms. The system may try to defend itself by adjusting its norms to include inappropriate behavior. Demonstrations are now accepted as normal in the United States. But when Saul Alinsky threatened to occupy all the toilets in Chicago's International Airport for an entire day, this represented more than a mere demonstration.

Inappropriateness was elevated to another level beyond the system's ability to adjust, and the threat alone worked.

The self-actualizing process we have described is in part an ejection of the oppressor; an exorcism of the values and habits which the oppressed have been forced to swallow. This rejection may inhibit the oppressed individual's ability to maintain normal relationships with members of the oppressor group. At the same time, an inner growth begins through which the individual finds a unique historical and personal identity to fill the void left by the oppressor. Instead of raving against the oppressor, the individual is interested in talking with his peers. Hating the oppressor is simply less important than getting to know one's peers. It is a pro-peer rather than anti-oppressor stance.

Once the oppressor has been ejected and the process of self-actualization begun, the individual is free to explore cooperation as a way of transforming the unjust system. Cooperation differs from massification not in the size of the group but in the quality of the relationships which hold the group together. Critical-level organizations of oppressed peoples see power not as a way to destroy the oppressor or as a means of defending themselves against the oppressor, but as a way of creating a system of justice, a new system of relationships. One can imagine a cooperative formed to get better prices at the local market. But a truly transforming cooperative movement would attempt to create a model system, an alternative to rural capitalism, a new way of looking at the relationship between producer and consumer. The distinctive mark of critical consciousness is the relationship established among the oppressed themselves.

> Radicalization ... is predominantly critical, loving, humble, and communicative, and therefore a positive stance. The man who has made a radical option does not deny another man's right to choose, nor does he try to impose his own choice. He can discuss respective positions. He is convinced he is right, but respects another man's prerogative to judge himself correct. He tries to convince and convert, not to crush his opponent.[21]

SUMMARY

Conscientizacao is a process of growth through three distinct but interrelated stages: magical, naive and critical consciousness. The archetypical magical individual conforms to the oppressive situation in which s/he finds him/herself. S/he defines problems related to basic survival concerns, and feels that these problems are governed by powers beyond his/her control. His/her actions are divided between passive acceptance of events and active appeasement of the powers which s/he sees as in control of his/her life.

The naive level of consciousness, at which the oppressed individual desires to reform what s/he sees as a basically sound system which has been corrupted by evil individuals who violate the system's norms and rules, is divide into two sub-levels: A) At the first sub-level, the individual blames him/herself and his/her peers for the norm violations. S/he plays host to the oppressor's beliefs by engaging in self-guilt and horizontal violence. His/her actions are directed at changing him/herself, becoming more like the oppressor: more educated, more powerful, more white. B) At the second sub-level, the oppressed individual blames an individual oppressor, or a particular oppressor group, for the norm violations. S/he sees how the oppressor's actions are harmful and intentional, but s/he attributes their cause to individual maliciousness. His/her actions are directed at defending him/herself from the consequences of this particular oppressor's violations.

The critically conscious individual perceives the "system" as in need of transformation. No mere patching of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed will change the basic reality that the "system", i.e., a coercive set of norms which govern both oppressed and oppressor, is the cause of oppression. The process of transformation begins with a rejection, a casting out of the oppressor's ideology, and leads to an increased sense of self-worth and peer power. Thought is scientific and extends beyond the immediate examples of oppression to the macro-socio-economic sphere where events are placed in a global context. The critical individual begins a process of seeking new role models, relying on self and community resources, boldness, risk-taking

and independence of the oppressor. This new approach of problem-solving, an approach in which dialogue with peers replaces polemics, allows the oppressed individual to formulate actions from which true liberation, true transformation can result.

Fanaticized consciousness is an aberration, a distortion of true "conscientizacao", which lies somewhere between the naive and critical stages of consciousness. Conceptually it proposes an inevitable struggle between oppressor and oppressed; a struggle which relies for success on charismatic leaders who are idealized as the "super-ethnic" and who are justified in using any means to achieve their ends. Fanaticized consciousness may lead to the destruction of the oppressor, but it does so through massification, through the subjection of the oppressed by the oppressed and consequently is not a path toward true liberation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Paulo Freire, Cultural Action for Freedom, p. 30.
2. Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, p. 44.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 33.
11. Ibid.
12. Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, p. 48.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 147.
16. Paulo Freire, Education for Critical Consciousness, p. 11.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p. 12.
19. Ibid., p. 18.
20. Ibid., p. 44.
21. Ibid., p. 10.

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# CHAPTER IV

## GROUP-CENTERED WORK

## INTRODUCTION

As was pointed out earlier in this document, the major educational problem confronting the Nonformal Project was how to create educational processes which were critical; which provoked an individual to actively question rather than allowing him/her to passively absorb the answers of others. This questioning process is often a personal confrontation between conflicting world views; a confrontation which takes place most intimately within the isolation of a single mind. But the Nonformal Project discovered that the critical process can best be stimulated within the environment of a group.

Groups offer special opportunities for the development and promotion of critical questioning. By bringing different individuals together they provide a large repertoire of experiences to be juxtaposed and questioned. Secondly, within the context of a group, many individuals form comradeships which increase their self-confidence and allow them to expose delicate areas of their own personality to analysis. This results in individual growth; and, more importantly for this project's goals, in increased self-confidence. Thirdly, groups allow participation at different levels. The individual is not always on the spot, but can withdraw into the safety of the group for a moment of reflection or self-fortification. S/he can seek support for an idea before trying that idea out on the entire group. Finally, groups allow individuals to perform, to physically act out, to test new behaviors and new ideas. An isolated individual is caught within his/her own behavior context; but an individual within a group is constantly being subjected to a process of feedback, an evaluation of his/her performance. This feedback process is vital to learning. Without the opportunity to test one's new ideas and consequently to receive information of their effectiveness, the learner is trapped on a purely theoretical plane.

These characteristics are not equally present in all groups. The organizational structure, purpose and needs of individual group members can maximize or minimize any one of these characteristics. A formal classroom is obviously a group, but a group structured in such a way as to minimize the qualities outlined above. A deliberate attempt must be made to create a group atmosphere in which these qualities are emphasized.

The purpose of this section of the consolidation document is to discuss several ways in which the Nonformal Project tried to create a group atmosphere which 1) promoted individual performance (participation); 2) provoked feedback on that performance; 3) allowed individuals themselves to decide the depth of their participation at any given moment; and 4) provided security and promoted a sense of comradeship and sharing.

For purposes of clarity the discussion of these group experiences will be divided into large-group experiences and small-group experiences. In some cases the line is fuzzy, but generally by small groups we mean any group of twenty (20) or less individuals.

## I. Large-Group Experiences

The Nonformal Project experiences with large groups fall generally into two categories: "theatre" and "song."

### A. THEATRE

For many people, theatre is any highly structured dramatization of people and/or events, involving a written script, a director, professional players, and a specially designed building. For the Nonformal Project, theatre was more broadly defined as performing, role-taking, the projection of self into an imagined situation. Theatre could be as unstructured and spontaneous as a socio-drama, or as deliberate as formal theatre in which the above mentioned elements are crucial. What is essential is projection, imagination, fantasy; for through these elements the individual is free to test, to perform without being threatened by the real life consequences of the activity. The Indian who strikes back against an arrogant busdriver in a socio-drama is not subjected to the consequences of striking back against an arrogant busdriver in real life. On the one hand, performance allows for a form of wish fulfillment, and realization of deeply felt needs; on the other, a safe way of testing and questioning the results of such fantasies. "What does the busdriver do? How does the busdriver respond?"

If this testing takes place within the context of a supportive group, a group which can identify with the fantasy and which is provoked to question the result of the fantasy, then the fantasy can promote

learning. The group can come to see alternatives which were not available before. Indeed, the fear of the consequences can be replaced by an understanding that those consequences are no worse than the fear itself. The Indian who fears being struck by a busdriver, or fears being sent to jail for being "undisciplined", can come to see that his fear of being jailed is perhaps worse than being jailed itself. This understanding is a product of vicariously experiencing a fantasy, or sharing one's feeling about that fantasy; and of feeling part of a decision, taken not in the isolation of one's own experience, but in the environment of a supportive group of peers.

Theatre, thus defined, has played an important role in the Nonformal Project. Five distinct kinds of theatrical experiences can be defined: 1) socio-drama; 2) deliberate theatre; 3) empirical theatre; 4) puppet theatre; and 5) cabezones.* Each of these experiences has been used to promote critical questioning of rural Ecuadorian life. What follows is a brief discussion of how each has been used by the Nonformal Project.

1. Socio-drama is spontaneous theatre. Individuals are asked to project themselves into a familiar, but often unexperienced role. For example, a group of campesinos are asked to dramatize what might happen if a local campesino went to the market to sell a 100 pounds of barley. The group would first determine the characters necessary: a campesino, a middleman buyer, perhaps a policeman, a city woman, another Indian. The group would then distribute roles and define from its own experience (real or imagined) the action. They might practice their performance briefly and then present their "socio-drama" before a larger group. The performance would be followed by a set of critical questions, posed to both performers and audience: "Is this the way things really are? How did you feel playing a police officer? Why did the Indian act as he did? Why are things this way? Is there anything we can do to change them?"

Socio-dramas were a by-product of the simulation game "hacienda." Campesinos would transform the board game into a series of socio-dramas

* Cabezones are papier-mâché heads large enough to be worn by an individual and which provide an exaggerated imitation of the human head.

provoked by the game cards. "You have been falsely accused of stealing a heighbor's goat. Go to the police officier and defend yourself." In one group the accused campesino would gather witnesses who would testify to his honesty; in another he would try to bribe the police official. The person playing the role of police officer might demand a bribe, or arbitrarily send the accused to jail. Game play would continue and these events analyzed later; or, game play would be stopped and each event analyzed at the moment of its happening.

Socio-dramas were also used as a deliberate part of training programs. When discussions became too theoretical, a socio-drama was often invented by the training staff and the discussion brought back to concrete issues. One of the most rewarding staff experiences was to see how easily campesinos took to role-playing, to projecting themselves into power roles which they had little or no expectation of ever achieving in real life. Physical characteristics often played an important part in campesino decisions as to which role to take. The whitest campesino, or the biggest, would be given the role of hacienda owner, or police officer. In order to break up these thereotypes, the staff would often suggest that a given individual take a specific role. The intention was to allow the individual who least felt like a "patron" to play that role. This role projection often allowed a timid individual,in real life, to convert into an aggressive and dominating individual in the fantasy life of the socio-drama.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the socio-drama is that it alone, among the forms of theatre experiences used by the Nonformal Project, allowed the individual to project his fantasies directly. Only the situation, and in some cases not even the situation, was defined by the trainers. The group made all decisions on the characters and the nature of the relationships to be explored in the drama.

2. Deliberate Theatre. The experience with socio-drama was a powerful stimulus for the Project staff to look for other forms of theatre for use in rural areas. Deliberate, or traditional, theatre already existed in these areas. Often the presentations were called "comedies", although they were in no way humorous. Most dealt with moral themes:

a wife betrayed by her husband, or a fight of a mother to save her wayward son from the road of sin. Often the dramas were accompanied by a song group or an individual who would recite poetry. But without fail, members of the audience were passive spectators of a fantasy invented by others. No critical questioning followed the performance; rather, individuals might discuss the actor's performance, or a particularly striking effect, such as thunder, during the drama. Even though the audience sat as a group, they participated as individuals. There was no need for the group to exist other than the logistical advantage of presenting the play once for several hundred people.

Project personnel began to ask themselves if there were not some way to combine the participation of socio-drama with the popular acceptance of deliberate drama. The answer was a non-professional theatre group which came to be called Teatro Manuel.

Teatro Manuel was a second-generation facilitator who lived in a rural community near Riobamba. He had several different jobs, as farmer and construction worker, and he had an interest in theatre. His interest was similar to that of any young person attracted by the excitement of the theatre world: costumes, make-up, practice, performance, applause. When Carlos Moreno suggested the possibility of forming a theatre group which would travel from community to community, Manuel took the lead in its formation. Two more farmers, two professional bus drivers, an apprentice dressmaker, a student, and two housewives joined the group. Along with Carlos Moreno they began to discuss what kind of theatre group they wanted, and especially what drama they wanted to create.

Manuel Santí, the hero of the fotonovela series, had made a significant impact in the communities where the fotonovela had been distributed. But the fotonovela required literacy or a reading group which was by necessity small. Theatre offered an exciting way of bringing Manuel Santi to life. The fotonovela scripts had been based on real life situations and had proved effective. The theatre group chose Manuel Santi as the basis for their drama. A new script was chosen after long discussions among the group. Roles were dispensed, practice sessions held, costumes rented from a local costume dealer, and the first presentation was made in a nearby community.

The script proved difficult to memorize. A coach was placed behind the scenes to help the budding actors remember or improvise their lines. In Quechua-speaking communities the actors were discouraged because they could not speak Quechua. But to the outsider these seemed small difficulties indeed. In each case, the entire community would crowd into a school room, or sit quietly in the evening cold, only their ponchos keeping out the night air, and listen to Manuel Santi defend the rights of campesinos against some well known but little discussed tyranny.

As the play ended, the audience would prepare to leave; individuals would stand, stretch, perhaps talk to a friend; many stood about saying nothing, seemingly processing what had taken place. Then came the surprise: the experience had not ended. The actors, taking off their theatrical costumes, now looked much like the audience. They began to talk about the play. "Does this kind of thing ever happen here? Is this the way things are in real life?" The audience was caught off guard. No one had questioned them before. But many seemed anxious to answer. The tiredness disappeared from their faces and many began to take seats once again. Now they were talking, not listening. The actors became inquisitors. Many questions were threatening: "What can be done to change these things? Why are we afraid?" Many questions were followed by a deafening silence. The actors gave no answers. Eventually someone spoke up. Another disagreed. Still another position was presented. Soon the drama was forgotten, the actors and Manuel Santi were but memories. The concern was self and community. Santi had been a stimulus, and the stimulus had worked.

There were also political consequences of these presentations. In one case two mestizos sat quietly in the audience and left when the discussion turned to the abuses of the local police officer. They were that police officer's cousins. Several days later Carlos Moreno was called in to discuss with the Provincial Military governor the purpose of these presentations. The governor feared that they were provoking campesino uprisings against local authority. Carlos did not defend the play, but rather shared numerous incidents of local abuse, of flagrant violations of the human and legal rights of campesinos. The governor was skeptical, but unwilling to risk the consequences of closing down the theatre group. Two

days later, (after one campesino had been killed by an unrelated incident of police brutality) Carlos met the governor on the street. The governor only nodded, indicating he now understood the need for campesinos to question the quality of their lives.

3. Empirical Theatre

> Two hundred campesinos were together in the schoolroom. There were five of us altogether, one in front of the group and the others mixed in with the audience. The one in front began to talk about how irresponsible his workers were; now they were never on time, worked slowly, and tried to avoid doing what they were asked. He explained that he had to cuss them out before they would do anything. The four who were spread throughout the group began to protest against these accusations. Gradually the group took over the protest. Within fifteen minutes the audience had identified the initial speaker as an enemy. Emotion ran high and it took time before the audience realized they had participated in "theatre."

The Nonformal Project calls this kind of theatre empirical, because it is based upon immediate experience. It grows spontaneously from the audience's participation. It is unconscious and manipulative. It involves the audience without their knowing that they are being involved. It is also risky. The "actors", better called "provokers", risk suffering physical injury if they play their part too well, or too long. Skill is needed to calm the audience; for hours afterward, some individuals still do not believe it was only "theatre."

At the same time, empirical theatre creates a catharsis. It involves the audience directly in deeply felt emotions as few other theatre presentations can. The emotions belong to the audience: aggressiveness, as in the case cited above; or passivity, as has also occurred on occasion. The actors are stimuli; manipulative, certainly. For this reason it is important that they understand the group beforehand.

Once the group is calm, a series of questions are posed: "Why do we remain silent when we are insulted in real life?" . . . ANSWER: "Since it was only a play, we almost hit the patron." "And in real life, why don't we act this way?" ANSWER: "Because the patron would have us put in jail." "Then it is fear that we have when we face the patron?"

What results from such dialogue is an implicit cry, "What can we do?"

When the audience leaves the school room, the question goes home with them.

4. Puppet Theatre. Puppets have long been used as an educational resource. In the Western world they have often been relegated to children, because learning was not supposed to be fun. In Asia, however, puppets have played an important role in the transmission of culture and in the spread of moral education.

Puppetry is little known in the rural areas of Ecuador. It was thought by the Project staff to be a potential instrument, meriting experimentation.

Carlos Moreno had learned about puppets as a high school student. He is a born "ham" and loves to make people laugh. It was at his insistence that the Project began a small puppet theatre.

The Nonformal Project theatre is unlike most European puppet theatres. There is no elaborate set, but instead a straw mat, with a hole cut in the center. This was a deliberate decision, taken to promote the creation of local puppet theatres by showing the campesinos that even the theatre can be made with local materials. Puppets are also simple, made from toilet paper with a simple rag dress. There are no scripts. The puppeteers agree on a theme which they improvise as the presentation takes place. One important feature of the puppet theatre is a small hole where the puppeteers can watch the audience; for unlike other puppet theatre, this is participatory theatre. The puppets begin to talk to the audience. It is amazing to see the face of a thirty-year-old campesina as she is goaded by her friends to walk up and shake hands with a puppet. For a moment her intellect takes precedence over her imagination: she shakes hands with the puppeteer she knows to be behind the puppet; but then her imagination is free, and she begins to talk not to the puppeteer but directly to the puppet.

"And how many children do you have?" ANSWER: "Seven alive and three dead." "And do you want more children?" ANSWER: "My husband wants more children." "But you don't want any more?" ANSWER: "I don't know." The woman sits down and the puppet begins to question the entire group. Eventually the group begins to talk among themselves. A dialogue has been begun. Once again theatre has posed a series of questions, given no answers, and provoked participation.

The Project wished to go a bit further with puppets than participatory presentations. After a series of such presentations, members of the audiences volunteered to learn how to make puppets. Many thought it would be too difficult, or too expensive. However, as Carlos began to use his persuasive powers, often drifting back to the voice of a puppet, sufficient confidence was mustered to give it a try. The materials were simple: a pot of glue made from flour and water; a roll of toilet paper; a stick. Step by step, each participant made his/her puppet along with Carlos. The head was formed, and paint carefully applied. Each puppet was different and the participants began to give them the names of relatives, or friends, or enemies. A few sample dresses were ready and were distributed after the heads had dried.

Now the puppet show was put on by the participants. At first they were satisfied to just move the heads. Then gradually, and often in isolation, a newly discovered puppeteer would begin a quiet monologue. Then two puppeteers would get together, discuss a possible situation and begin to practice. Timid campesinos who had previously said nothing began to feel secure. They were not speaking; it was the puppet who was responsible for those terrible things being said . . . "Why do we have to work like burros and then not get paid for months?" . . . "Why do you let them charge double for the trip to Riobamba?" "Why . . . why . . . why?" Once, when a puppet disguised as a doctor diagnosed liver trouble, a campesino puppet turned to the audience and said: "Whenever we are sick the doctors always tell us it is our liver. Did God give Indians such bad livers?" The audience laughs - - and thinks.

5. Cabezones. During carnival time, parades and fiestas are held in the provincial cities. These are mostly drinking festivals, with glasses raised high in honor of the local saint. One feature of these festivals are the cabezones, huge papier-mache heads worn by costumed campesinos and used to make people laugh. Their principal function is fun. The children are enthralled and the adults amused.

Could cabezones be used to stimulate spontaneous theatre? If campesinos felt more able to express their true feelings when talking through a puppet, would they feel equally secure behind an enormous head? Cabezones promised to combine the fantasy of puppets with the physical

involvement of dramatic theatre.

Cabezones were under-utilized by the Nonformal Project staff. The puppets or the other theatre groups received more attention, not because cabezones were less exciting but simply because they were less familiar. Before a large group, staff members also had their own fears to deal with. This meant that they tended to give priority to the media with which they felt more confident. Cabezones were used, but mostly as a means of informing the public that something was going on in the community. They were given to children, delighted children, who ran all over the village scaring other children, provoking adults, and creating a question . . . "What's going on?" This was important for the over-all promotion of a fantasy atmosphere; but as a learning tool, no specific procedures were ever developed for using the cabezones. This remains one of the areas which needs further exploration.

6. Conclusions. Theatre in all its forms proved to be an exciting way of involving large numbers of rural people in a process of self-questioning. Some forms were more direct and consequently more threatening than others.

Empirical theatre is a very risky business, requiring enormous internal skills of self-control and self-confidence, as well as external skills of judging a group's mood and indeed controlling that mood. Deliberate theatre, when followed by a conscious questioning process, also proved to be a formidable tool for critical analysis of everyday reality. It was time-consuming and expensive, relative to the other forms of theatre used; but it provided an outlet for individuals like Manuel Pacheco who wanted to be "on stage."

Socio-dramas were the most used, and the simplest to stage. They provided an enormous range of involvement and consequently a large range of experiences to be questioned and compared. Campesinos were very good at role-playing. Perhaps one of the most powerful elements in the socio-drama was the wish fulfillment which took place: the opportunity for one brief moment to be a landowner, a police officer, a bus driver. The full ramifications of this identification are not yet clear to the Project staff. This is one area which merits further exploration.

Puppet theatre was also an exciting and enjoyable way of inviting rural adults to question their own lives. Through laughter and tears, the security of a puppet would allow a very timid campesino to say things he had only thought about before. Puppets were easy to make, and indeed a number of puppet groups now exist in several rural communities where the Project worked. Puppets were given to the Radiovision monitors as another tool for critical questioning, and were very well received in those communities.

Cabezones were important in helping to establish an atmosphere of fantasy with which to begin the theatre-related critical process; but as has been pointed out, they were never developed as a truly effective and independent critical tool.

Fantasy, when related to life experiences (which are often threatening to discuss) proved an effective way to reduce tension, increase confidence, and stimulate critical analysis of real life events. One of the most rewarding aspects of theatre was the number of campesinos who loved to act, while projecting themselves into another time, another place. But this kind of fantasy was not escape from reality but rather escape into reality. Rural life is often so oppressive that what appears as "real", i.e., the surface activities of everyday life, is actually a veil of repression, carefully constructed to screen out the painful face of a deeper truth. Fantasy provided an opportunity to explore that painful reality; to escape from passivity; to test aggressive behavior; and to experience the companionship of a group.

B. SONG

Music is an important medium of expression in the rural areas of Ecuador. The individual who plays a guitar, or the young girl with a gifted voice is a powerful person in the community. Song is one of the few large-scale communication opportunities which allow Quechua-speaking individuals to express themselves in their own tongue.

Song can also be an escape, a way of avoiding action. As an individual sits in a group, singing along with his fellows, he is submerging himself in the pain of that day and consequently he is justifying inaction.

"La Bocina" (a long, Alpine horn-like instrument used in the Sierra region of Ecuador) is a popular song which says, "The bocina is enough for the Indian, it is all he needs." Song can be an opiate, used to tranquilize and purge an individual of resentment and aggressiveness.

The Nonformal Project did a survey of the most popular songs about and in the rural areas of the Sierra. The songs were then categorized by their authors: had they been written by whites, or by rural people? Each and every one of the songs written by whites was sad, while 80% of the songs written by rural people about themselves were happy. One possibility suggested by this result was that the white community was selling a sad image of the campo (rural area) to the campesino. Consistently campesinos would tell Project members, "The campo is sad, we are poor, there is nothing we can do; look how poor and sad we are." The prophecy became self-fulfilling. The sadder the music, the sadder the campesino felt, the less willing he was to act; the lack of action made things worse, and consequently he felt sadder.

The Project wanted to break this cycle, and song seemed like one place to begin. Groups were organized during the training sessions, not only to sing but to create songs. The only instruction that was given to the groups was that the song must focus on the good part of campo life, those things which make being a campesino worthwhile. The results were fascinating. One line in a song said, "It is good to live in the campo because our women are loyal and strong, not like the women of the city who betray their husbands easily." Nature was often a theme, as was the family and working with one's hands. These songs became statements of self-worth, a positive and often joyous affirmation of self and community.

Song is by nature romantic. In order to avoid a simple romanticizing of campo life, which would be just another opiate, the group was questioned about the lyrics they had written. Campo life as described in the song was compared with urban life and with the experiences of other campesinos. Songs were often re-written and presented life contrasts as a major theme. These songs were sung often during the course of a given training session and were frequently the best remembered event of the training process.

II. Small-Group Experiences

Small-group experiences differ from large-group experiences in the size and structure of the group. Small groups generally refers to any group of less than twenty (20) individuals. These groups were almost always training groups in the Nonformal Project. Individuals had been selected to do certain jobs and the experiences or exercises here discussed were designed to help them achieve specific learning goals. For ease of discussion, the exercises used by the Project have been divided into four general categories: 1) communication exercises; 2) introspection and sharing exercises; 3) group problem-solving/decision-making exercises; and 4) analysis skill exercises.

The majority of these exercises are highly structured simulated experiences which attempt to create a common situation which the group can use as a point of analysis or discussion. Many of these exercises were not created by the Project staff, but rather adapted from traditional human relations exercises. In some cases they have been changed to meet the needs of the local culture; in other cases the exercises appear the same as the traditional exercises, but have been used to achieve different learning goals.

A. Communication Exercises dealt with the problems of human communication. Both non-verbal and verbal communication were stressed. Communication distortion; the role of stereotyping in communication; the importance of roles and communication in a formal classroom,were the major topics covered by these exercises. Communication was considered an important area of treatment, because one of the major goals of the Project was to introduce a more open communication style between learner and teacher and between learner and learner.

B. Introspection and Sharing Exercises sought to provide the individual with an opportunity to think about his/her own values and interests, and to create an atmosphere in which these could be shared without fear of being put down. This sharing process was an important element in building groups which had both self-confidence and confidence in peers. This was the principal tool used to develop a feeling of comradeship, which was called "companerismo", and was essential to the

post-training cooperation among facilitators and other rural groups.

C. Group Problem-Solving/Decision-Making Exercises gave participants the opportunity to work together toward solving a common problem. Not only the solution arrived at, but also the process by which the group arrived at it were later analyzed. Leadership styles and the importance of each member participating were explored during these group exercises.

D. Analysis Skills Exercises were used to develop those specific skills related to critically analyzing a given event. These exercises generally presented the group with a stimulus: a photograph, a contrasting reality, or the entire training experience, which participants were then asked to analyze in terms of 1) how related it was to real life; 2) why things were as presented in the stimulus; and 3) what could be done to change the things the group felt were inappropriate. Participants were given the opportunity to use these three basic questions in a setting familiar to them, and were encouraged to use them when they returned to their communities.

Many of these exercises tend to be manipulative. They require experience and understanding of the needs of each particular group before they can be used effectively. The Nonformal Project brought together an unusual group of individuals who combined intimate knowledge and understanding of the rural participant group with extensive experience in human relations training. These exercises are not suggested for widespread utilization by non-experienced people. Rather they form a very delicate but equally powerful training input which often helped the group to see consequences which had not been previously perceived. They stimulated group discussions of considerable depth, and helped individuals relate outside reality to the reality of the immediate group.

The purpose of these exercises was not individual therapy, and seldom if ever were trainers trapped into meeting this participant need.

With rural groups the exercises were often much less threatening than the same exercises were with urban and professional people. The rural individual trained by the Nonformal Project seemed very open to self-disclosure and to increased self-awareness. In fact many of them

took some of the exercises back to their communities and used them to stimulate interest and vary the discussion style of a community meeting. Seldom did the trainers suggest that exercises be used by the participants in this way; it was usually done on their own initiative.

## III. General Conclusions

Both large- and small-group exercises played an important role in the overall impact of the Nonformal Project. The small-group exercises were particularly important in forming a feeling of sharing and comradeship, which proved crucial, especially in the facilitator model. The large-group exercises were also very rewarding, principally because they combined fun and fantasy with the critical questioning processes which the staff felt to be so important to the success of the Project.

What needs to be done now is the sharpening of these techniques, and a synthesizing of them into a general program of rural education. Spontaneity and openness must continue to be emphasized. If empirical theatre, or puppet theatre, or any of the other tools discussed in this chapter are transformed into rigid presentations, designed to meet the logistic needs of the staff more than the human needs of the participants, then they will become hardly more valuable than a classroom lecture. It was their spontaneity, their dependence upon risk, upon immediate fantasy and imagination; their placing of the "power" of role-playing directly into the hands of the participants which made them unique, and which made them liberating. To the degree that they become rigid, and programmed, they lose their liberating quality.

# CHAPTER V

## EDUCATIONAL GAMES

"Basic educational needs in rural areas of the Third World can be satisfied by non-professional educators using materials which promote participation and dialogue."

- James Hoxeng
"Let Jorge Do It"

00108

# EDUCATIONAL GAMES

It is no longer remembered who first said that "play is the best way to learn", but it is no longer debatable that s/he was astute. Games, which are a form of play, have been used in many settings to promote various kinds of learning. Kindergarten teachers rely on games -- from the most elementary to the most sophisticated -- as an important tool of learning. At a more advanced level of schooling, college professors have constructed chemistry and physics experiments in the form of games. So it is understandable that the Nonformal Education Project of the University of Massachusetts decided to experiment with games as an integral part of an attempt to provide an alternative to formal education in Ecuador.

One of the postulates of the program in game development was that the natural essence of man is his playful tendency. Man unconsciously wants to play as well as to work; we all need to diversify our attention in two directions: play and work. When the two ends of the relation are not balanced, we are not fully satisfied. Although it may be difficult to persuade adults to attend classes at the end of a working day, there is not so much resistance when they are invited to "play" games.

Therefore, appeal to the natural tendency towards play seems to be a legitimate basis for developing a teaching-learning model geared especially for working adults who for one of several reasons did not get far with their schooling in the formal system, but who would like to learn more in order to alter their life conditions.

In considering how best to use games as a means of learning, theory and experience indicate the need for implementing educational materials which stem from an experience and lead to reflection, conceptualization, practice internalization, and finally to further action -- what Paulo Freire calls "the circle of learning." An individual's experience is an irreplaceable stimulus in this process, without which all effort at educational structures are in vain.

Of course, it is rarely possible to provide full spontaneous experiences ad hoc. The only alternative is to simulate such experiences through gaming for the purposes of an intentional learning circle.

The use of games in the circle of learning fits very well with the concept of nonformal education because it supposes that the experience of participating in an enjoyable game not only develops in people the joy of a learning process, but also diminishes the traditional role of the teacher, changing it from the vertical relationship to students in the classroom to a horizontal relationship between compañeros. In this way, games increase the possibility of a teacher's acting with the community in an educational process instead of acting over the individuals within the traditional educational system.

Other points of rationale for emphasizing games as learning media have been summarized by Ochoa[1] :

"The Project developed and produced thirty-four games during its first and second year (1972-1974), both at UMass and in Ecuador, with each game partially complete and in an unfinished format to provide the Ecuadorean campesino with the opportunity to adapt the game around his social and geographical ambiente and for him to determine the rules of the game. The games were designed for the illiterate and semi-literate campesinos in Ecuador, South America. The rationale being the high illiteracy rate among campesinos, the scarcity of trained teachers for the rural sectors, the reliance on passive educational methodologies, the need for self-confidence concerning one's ability to learn, etc. (See Technical Note #1, The Ecuador Project.) "

"Simulation and Fluency Games: Two of the three types of materials designed by the Project to teach basic cognitive and affective skills are Simulation games and Fluency games (Skill Practice Games); these two types of games are the core of the survey of gaming materials; the third type of materials is Expressive Techniques, which are not dealt with in this survey. In reference to why

the Project chose to develop and produce simulation games, the answer to the question lies in the rationale of the Project and the following points:

1. Given the rural setting, one attractive aspect of games is that they combine learning with fun; they are intended to be self-motivating.

2. The scarcity of trained teachers forces a reliance on learning systems which require little training or expertise to administer. Games, through the use of verbal rules and clearly defined game boards, assist non-professionals in playing the role of instructor. Many game experts in the United States are skeptical about the use of colorful game boards, and chance mechanisms, and feel that such devices are fit only for "parlor" games. It is the conviction of the Project staff that when working with rural adults, these aspects are essential factors in the effectiveness of the games, and should not be discarded in favor of more rigorous, yet more complicated, simulation designs."

"Because financial resources are so scarce, it is also important that the chosen educational methodologies be reproduceable by local communities, and that they spread easily from one community to another without the need for an elaborate distribution system. Games provide both capabilities; they can be copied and transferred from one area to another by simple word of mouth."

"Finally, and perhaps most importantly, games support an active pedagogy. They force students, all students, to become involved in the learning activity. They are an excellent vehicle not only for participation during the playing of the game but also for learner input into the content of the lesson itself. The simulation games have all been developed either by Ecuadorians or with their assistance. While it is possible to design a game in isolation from the target population, it is not advisable to do so."

Not all of these ideas were evident to the Project staff when the Project started to develop its materials. Only through time did they begin to take form and concomitantly interrelate until they constituted a logical plan that opened interesting perspectives in the field of education. The initiative to develop games cannot be attributed to one moment or to one person alone; it was born in the course of interminable preliminary conversations held by the first team of people from the University of Massachusetts, the Ministry of Education and others in Ecuador in 1972.

Given the interest that people from the United States had in the Project, the willingness of the Ecuadorians to rely on their initial input, and the absence of learning games in Ecuadorian culture, it is not surprising that the first games were inspired for the most part by popular games in the United States. The staff began by adapting games familiar to them to the settings in which they were working -- the conditions and needs of the people in communities where they were to be tried. As time went on, however, the value of using indigenous games was increasingly regarded.

In creating games, the primary objective of the Nonformal Education Project was kept in mind: to deliver to the rural people of Ecuador skills in learning that would be useful to them in their everyday life. In that context, the overall objective for developing games was to create materials and conditions that would permit learning to be carried out in community activities.

At the heart of preliminary discussions on creating games was the philosophy of the Brazilean educator, Paulo Freire. One of the many attractions of his ideas was the facility with which his procedure for learning could be transformed into concrete gaming activities. William Smith[2] has described how games can meet Freire's requirement of a liberating education:

"1. Players in games are the masters of their own destinies within the restraints of the game. They are able to make decisions, to cause events, and to control outcomes. As in few other learning environments, the individual feels as though he is within a world over

which he personally has some influence. When a player is given a role, it is his interpretation of that role which brings it to life. The player is forced to bring his own experience to bear on the learning environment. That experience then becomes part of the group's experience ...

"2. Games act to challenge, but not to stifle activity. The player is forced to act on his own behalf. That is, perhaps, the best definition of 'play' itself ...

"3. Games are replicas of real-life situations. The content of education is reality itself scaled down and concentrated so as to be both manageable and useful to the learner ...

"4. The student-teacher relationship is totally redefined when using a game. Indeed, it is valid to ask if there exists a 'teacher' role at all. Certainly there is no one individual who is the source of truth. The game itself, through the interaction of the players, creates its own truth based upon the constraints imposed by the oral rules and structure ...

"5. The theme of problem-posing which Freire so strongly advocates is the central theme of gaming as well. The nature of the game is to pose a problem based upon an abstraction of the real world in which the learner finds him/herself. But problems are posed in such a way that the learner is able to act in order to resolve them."

In summary, games were to be adapted to assist rural Ecuadorians see from another perspective their patterns of living and, through a process described by Freire, to take responsibility for changing those patterns.

TYPES OF GAMES

From the beginning, the staff felt that the type of materials developed for the Project would be a crucial factor in determining who used them and how they would be used. A set of guidelines for materials was developed which set out criteria for judging their appropriateness for rural non-school education. A brief discussion

of these criteria will help the reader understand more clearly some of the implications of the principles discussed in the previous section.

One of their primary criteria was that the materials be cheap and easily reproducible from locally available materials. Ideally, many of the devices could be constructed by the villagers themselves once they were exposed to a model. Thus things like wooden dice, simple playing cards, and games like ring toss or simple roulette could be easily constructed by local carpenters. For board games requiring more complex printing, we are experimenting with making the facing available for villagers to put onto a board which they provide. Devices which are produced outside the village should be durable, attractive and above all cheap -- well within the budget of typical families. This means there is an effective limit on the cost of reproduction of most materials of $1.00 U.S. or less.

Another important aspect of the materials is their motivating ability. Above all they must be fun to use and must spark interest and participation on the part of the users. The goal is active involvement so that users gain confidence in using the concepts or skills taught by the materials. Since there is nothing compulsory about the use of the materials and since external rewards are largely non-existent, the materials must carry the full motivational ability within themselves. Full use is made of local cultural traditions of entertainment. Gambling, competition, prizes, or whatever seems to generate enthusiasm and participation is used whenever appropriate. Flexibility in the components and processes used in games is often a motivator. The more villagers can change the materials to make them fit local circumstances, the more they will participate.

Materials should have immediate relevance to the users' situation and where possible should relate to popular culture. Materials need to appeal to villagers with little or no formal schooling, people who haven't been taught that learning occurs as separate subjects like math or history, people who will naturally relate the materials to the substance of their daily lives. Even reading and writing and simple math can be readily related to a dis-

cussion of community problems and issues. Such an integrated approach to self-development can often be facilitated by making use of aspects of popular culture. Local games can be modified to include practice of numerical skills; competition can be expanded to include new knowledge, and so forth. A number of the Project's current materials are direct modifications of locally popular games. For instance, instead of prescribing in the rules of a game the way in which disputes are to be resolved, the process is left to be devised by those playing the game, according to their own customs.

Use of the materials should be possible with only minimal input from trained outsiders. In most cases it is intended that local non-professionals with short intensive training would be able to make use of the more complex materials. The simpler devices should be self-explanatory and require little more than a group of individuals interested in using them. Most of the devices should require little in the way of literacy skills. Even the more complex simulation games can be transmitted verbally as long as someone in the village knows how to play. For example, the Hacienda game (see Technical Note #3) instead of having written rules, incorporates the role of a lawyer who knows the rules. Players must negotiate with him as they go along to discover what they can or cannot do. Under such circumstances rules are very flexible, and each village or group tends to develop its own version of the game.

Finally, materials should be conceived as part of a self-generating curriculum, rather than a finished product. Various conscious techniques should be used to provide learners with a framework upon which they can build content and procedures which are valuable to them. Avoiding written rules, using unfinished versions of games, keeping materials simple and unimpressive to avoid intimidating users; all these are techniques which help the materials to serve as input to a process rather than as endpoints. The overall purpose of nonformal education is to release local resources and to develop in people an awareness of their ability to learn from already available materials and people.

Based on those criteria, games began to be developed and distributed to the rural areas. But even before distribution they underwent some changes. As a preliminary test, the games were played by the Project staff team, including the secretarial and service personnel. In the course of these tests many modifications were introduced into most games. When it was agreed the games were ready to be played, they were brought to the rural areas where it was often necessary to make more modifications so that they were relevant to the actual conditions of the various communities.

The Project staff did not forget that they could not predict or control every interaction between the elements of the game and those of the situation in which it was played. They remained open to the modifications that would be made by the players, based on their own needs and interests.

The games which have been developed can be grouped into two general categories for convenience. These are: 1) Simulation games -- often board games which deal with complex social reality. They are intended to clarify social issues and promote group discussion of problems. Often the games provide a means for exploring and testing possible behaviors in real-life situations; and 2) Fluency games -- these deal with simple numeracy and literacy skills by creating entertaining and involving processes which provide practice and increase the confidence of the players in their abilities.

SIMULATION GAMES

Simulation games re-create on a game board critical situations in the life of the campesino; they simulate the social, political and economic factors as well as the "chance" elements (which is not infrequently significant in people who believe in magic) which determine the life conditions of the individuals. They are intended to clarify local events and to promote discussion among the players about the problems dramatized in the game. The games often help the participants to appreciate circumstances in real life, and most importantly, they provide a structure for questioning their reactions to those circumstances. Players can experience in a relatively short

period of time a total sequence of events that occur in real life over a much longer period of time -- even an entire life span. This helps them to articulate the causes and consequences of real events and to examine critically the circumstances in which they find themselves.

In a game each player represents a certain role taken from daily life, and in the course of the game players face unexpected situations with which they must struggle. A certain dose of empathy is required in order for the participants to identify with the persons whom they represent. By allowing each participant to choose which role he or she will play, the likelihood of identification with that role is increased.

It is not unusual for players to simulate in the game the roles they play in real life. This usually increases interest as much in the participants as in the spectators, because it is understood that the player is not totally discriminating between fiction and reality. Simulation games allow the players to project their feelings into the game, and at the same time it becomes possible for each one to discover the "game" of the others. The game and discussion that follows offers the participants a new view of old problems, thus giving them more alternatives for action in regard to those problems.

Simulation games allow the community members who play them to deal with community problems indirectly, thus taking away the explosive potential of some issues. In Theft (El Robo), for example, players attempt to solve the mystery of money that has disappeared from the cooperative. Here they can enjoy the fun of accusing specific individuals or speculating on other possible causes of the disappearance. But the similarity of the game to reality does not go entirely unnoticed, and it is expected that there is some transfer of the players' willingness to solve the problem in the game to solving similar problems in his own life.

These games allow players to practice new behaviors in a non-threatening situation. In both Hacienda and Coop, for example, one play is to borrow money from the bank. While playing the games,

players who might never in real life have the courage or knowledge to borrow money have a chance to simulate borrowing. They can watch others borrow and thus see how it is done; they learn the mathematical negotiations necessary to borrow; they have support from their fellow players while pretending to borrow, and as a result, they can begin to see the act of borrowing money from the bank as a real possibility. Other business and social skills like borrowing are simulated in the games.

The simulation games played in Ecuador do not strictly resemble games in the United States as they are played. They are something of a cross between a board game such as Monopoly, with rigid rules, and role play activities in which participants are free to improvise at will. Players in rural Ecuador tend to use the games as a take-off point and structure to act out roles, and to improvise dealings with each other based on the set-up of the game. This is another means of mixing fiction and reality in a learning experience.

Of the thirty-five games developed by the Project to date, eight are simulation games: Hacienda, Drought, Coop, Theft, The Neighborhood, Food, The Fair, and Education Game.

Hacienda is a good example of a simulation game to use in further describing their nature. The game attempts to reflect the campesino's reality in a mildly irreverent way, offering them a chance to portray the officials they know so well, who administer the inequities which face them every day. The game underlines the campesino's precarious position with respect to duly constituted authority, and in relation to the hacendado whose wealth and position generally guarantee him a very different treatment under the law.

Several value judgments are incorporated into the game: that school provides very little possibility of reward to rural dwellers, but that other more utilitarian educational alternatives do exist; that acquisition and improvement of property is a necessary factor in bringing about any change in the present situation; that working together is virtually essential; that information is a valuable source of power. These values have been seen to be consistent with

those held by the campesinos who have played the game.

Other games make similar reflections of other aspects of life in the rural areas.

## FLUENCY GAMES

Fluency games are those whose basic purpose is to increase learners' skills in using letters and numbers. Less directly, but not less importantly, these games are intended to raise the self-esteem of players who find that they too are capable of learning literacy and numeracy skills, and that they can use these skills to improve their living conditions. Even if the total sum of knowledge that one can acquire through fluency games is limited, the games can awaken interest in learning, reinforce an individual's belief in his or her own capacity to learn and become the first step on the never ending road of knowledge.

The fluency games usually consist of dice or cards with letters or numbers; they give the players occasion to form words or to resolve elementary arithmetic problems. Some games have been developed from recreational games such as pin ball, roulette and ring toss. These fluency games, like simulation games, hold great attraction for the participants. They provide entertainment at the same time that they improve their skills with numbers and letters.

The most popular fluency games are: Concentration, Letter Rummy, Syllable Rummy, Letter Dice, Number Dice, Math Bingo, Pin Ball, Roulette, Ring Toss, Math Tic Tac Toe, Domino, El Burro, El Chulo and El Mercado. Because the procedures in the fluency games resemble closely those of similar games in the United States (from which many of them were derived) it is not necessary to describe them in detail. In brief, learning comes about for players using these games in that they must practice their literacy and numeracy skills in order to advance in the game or to win.

Players' interest in the various fluency games is more quickly exhausted than in simulation games. This is because each fluency game teaches a limited amount of skills, and once those are mastered, the player is no longer challenged and loses interest more quickly than in a simulation game, where there are more permutations and combinations. But to balance the disadvantage of their short lives, fluency games have the advantage of being easy to develop and to use as a source of variations. Using the basic strategy of dice, for example, several games can be created to teach different aspects of literacy and math, at different levels of complexity. For example, dice can be played to teach addition, subtraction, multiplication and division; or, it can be used to teach letters, syllables, words, and so on.

## A THIRD YEAR SURVEY OF THE USE OF GAMES

In February 1974, after the Ecuador Project had been using games for three years, Alberto Ochoa, the Project's Campus Coordinator, conducted a survey of the use of gaming materials in the Project. He was generally interested in finding out the extent to which each game had been used and the degree of success Project staff members felt they had had with the game.

He obtained his information from discussions with staff members on every level as well as from those who had played the game in sites where the Project operated, from records of the games' use and from the gaming materials themselves. He wrote a complete list of games originated in the Project; from that list he developed a master list of the seventeen most frequently used games. For the games on this list, he assessed the cost of each and systematically accounted for the opinions held by various individuals on factors of the game, such as the six original criteria according to which games should be developed, goals, conditions, outcomes, recommendations for future use, and so on.

Ochoa summarized his findings about the use and testing of the games as follows:

1. Seven of the thirty-four games have been widely and frequently used by the Project: Hacienda, Naipes de Letras, Naipes de Sílabas, Dados de Letras, Dados de Numeros, Quina, and Mercado.

2. An additional ten of the thirty-four games have had some use by the Project: Cooperativa, Robo, Concentration, Pinball, Ruleta, Argollas, Tres en Calle, Domino, El Burro, and El Chulo.

3. Seven of the seventeen games not used by the Project have been pilot-tested. One was used by a facilitator in the Sierra.

4. Fourteen of the seventeen games frequently used or having had some use have been utilized by teachers of the Ministry of Adult Education.

5. Within the top seventeen games, sixteen have been pilot tested and twelve games field tested in a number of communities.

6. Within the top seventeen games, fourteen are fluency games and three simulation games.

7. In regard to the cost of each game, according to pre-established criteria, sixteen of the thirty-four (eight of the top seventeen) met the criteria when the games are individually produced. These numbers increase by one (1) if the games are commercially produced.

Additionally, Ochoa gathered opinions from the Project staff on how well each of the top seventeen games met the original criteria. He presented this information in quantitative terms.

To conclude his report Ochoa [3] listed several observations which do not appear to be based directly on his quantitative analysis:

" The games developed by the Project have been used as tools to enable the facilitators of the Project (community leaders) to: initiate communication and dialogue among community members; to get people to interact and know one another; as a process to set the environment in a community gathering for people to feel relaxed; as a means to motivate community members to take an active part in community functions; to transfer cognitive and affective skills in the

process of participating in the activities of the games; to assess numeracy and literacy skills; to provide a means to acquire basic cognitive skills and enable participants to enjoy the process; and to build self-confidence in their ability to learn."

" In the process of designing, implementing, and evaluating the games, the Project staff has deliberately left the games unfinished to enable users to re-design them and adapt the rules and playing styles of games to the local situation. In doing so, the Project needs to assess and constantly focus upon the following factors in its overall gaming activities:

- Cultural factors (language of the community; social values, mores, traditions, social relationships of the community; the dress; the diet; nutrition; foods) vary from village to village and more predominantly in contrast to the urban centers, to the Sierra setting, to the Coastal areas of Ecuador.

- The degree of participation and motivation in game activities are related to the amount of time since the game has been introduced; the support and reinforcement provided by peers of the participants; the attitude of the facilitator towards games; the degree of use of game.

- The degree of game utilization in any one community or village is perhaps due to the fact that games are not a priority, a concern or need to the community where games have been introduced.

- The games designed are more culturally mestizo-based, and may be socially disruptive in Indian communities. The reward system, social values, attitude towards games, and the reflection or assessment of game activities reflect more the social thought of mestizo culture than Indian culture.

- The success of the games in Indian communities and their use is probably dependent upon their use in a small social setting rather than in a large social setting given that the games are not part of the Indian culture; games are indirectly forced upon the community by the presence of the Project; and the attitudinal

incompatibility that exists as to how the Indian is seen at a national and provincial level by the decision-makers and mestizos of Ecuador.

- Games need more follow-up of other materials or activities, otherwise they become boring and reiterative, and tend to provide repetitive reflection.

- Games need to provide greater cultural and social relevance as e.g., Mercado, which has been changed through its use and has enabled participants in various communities to adapt it to their own social setting.

- Greater efforts need to be made in using the games of the people, within/of their own communities, rather than introducing "outsiders" games. "

Finally, Ochoa suggested several questions related to the games' cultural and social relevance, their facilitator, the nature of learning produced, and he recommended that a survey similar to his own be repeated the following year and the results compared.

GENERALIZED FINDINGS

In the course of the years during which games have been created, introduced into rural communities and played again and again, some knowledge has been gained about using games as learning tools in the rural areas of Ecuador.

First, the original criteria used in the development of games appear to be useful in judging their success. The criteria are: inherent attractiveness; relevance to the player's real-life situation; self-motivation; low cost; easy reproduceability; easy handling; self-explanatory and self-generative nature. According to Ochoa's study, and the observations of others who have been involved in the Project, those games which generate the most interest and seem to lead to the kind of learning desired by the Project are those which do relatively well in meeting the criteria originally established.

Secondly, games must be developed within the context of the Project. Their success depends heavily on how they are introduced into the community, how they are modified by the community for their own purposes, and how they relate to the specific social and economic interactions that the game players deal with in their real life. The games cannot be created in a vacuum and sent out to be played anywhere and at any time.

Thirdly, there was some doubt in the beginning of the Project as to whether players would be willing to suspend reality and become involved in the fictional situations of the games. It was discovered that most had no difficulty in participating in the game situation, in accepting the rules, playing their given roles, and taking seriously the problems that arose in the course of the game. Of course, a game was successful partly in proportion to the degree that it resembled reality and allowed players to identify with their roles and the situations with which they had to deal. Also, in spite of some preliminary fears, players were able to handle a good deal of complexity in the games. They could tolerate intricate rules, insofar as those led to their enjoyment of the game. Games which did not correspond to reality were not as well received, though, and they seemed difficult for the players, probably because they were not sensible in terms of the players' real experience.

Fourth, games are most popular and successful when they are left in an unfinished state so that they can be easily modified by the players. When players feel free to change rules and other game components, they easily adapt the game to be relevant to their own situation. In this way, games played in Ecuador are significantly different than those played in the United States, and whoever develops a game for the rural areas should not expect that it will remain in its original form indefinitely.

Fifth, the criterion of attractiveness and enjoyability is extremely important. Although most games can be made at low cost, they must have an immediate appeal to the players.

Finally, perhaps it is as important to assist the rural Ecuadorian to develop their own games from scratch as to continue providing them with games. The very act of creating a game helps one gain a better understanding of the problems addressed by the game, or of the skills taught by the game. The next step in this project or in another project which uses gaming materials might be to build a model or design a procedure by which campesinos can develop their own games as one step to learning more about their own life patterns.

## PROBLEMS YET TO BE SOLVED

The art of using games in rural areas for the purpose of learning is still very rough. At this point, the Project has identified a number of aspects of gaming materials that deserve much more serious attention:

1. Once a game has been developed and is ready to be played in the rural communities, the problem arises of how to introduce it most effectively. Many of the players will be illiterate and not accustomed to playing learning games, or any games of that sort. They must be taught the rules and they must be encouraged to see a connection between the situation presented in the game, or the skills taught in the game, and situations in their real lives to which they can apply what they have learned from the game.

The Ecuador Project has used facilitators to introduce games. Facilitators are community members who have been trained to play the games and to use the games as teaching materials. They should be able to teach players the rules, to clarify confusion, and to facilitate players in making the games relevant to their own interests. But the facilitator model is not the perfect solution to the problem of introducing games. It requires that facilitators be available in communities where games are introduced, and that in turn requires time and other resources spent on training facilitators. Also, it assumes that a facilitator, once trained, will be able to use the games to the advantage of the players. This

does not always happen, as some individuals selected for facilitator training do not appear to be good choices, and others, who might become better with support and supervision, do not do well on their own when they return to the community. So the problem of introducing games for maximum learning remains unsolved.

2. Some games have elements which are cultural impositions on the communities in which they are introduced. In other words, some of the rules, strategies and expected outcomes are foreign to players in rural areas, and their inappropriateness is not spotted before they are played. For example, competition, a common feature of most games in the United States, is not present in all cultures. Individuals have been brought up to collaborate in all situations rather than to compete with each other. Their failure to see the point of competing produces what seems to many westerners to be "cheating", that is , sharing with rather than hiding from other players.

When such cultural anomalies are discovered, they might be eliminated from the game. But sometimes it is just those cultural differences that are the "lesson" of the game. Some games are designed to teach individuals to view situations from a new point of view, and that viewpoint may be foreign to their culture, but to their advantage to take. Learning to look at markets as places where they should be treated fairly, for example, may be a result of the game which uses a concept of "fairness" foreign to them.

3. A major problem with games which have a low acceptance rate is that they do not correspond to the reality of the communities in which they are introduced. This is partly because each community is unique in some ways; at any given time they have their special problems, and no single game, usually, can attack a myriad of problems with equal relevance. In other cases, games are not relevant to the communities because the designer has not focused on the actual dynamics of community living, and the game becomes somewhat off base. This problem of irrelevance can be solved eventually with repeated trial and error attempts and documentation and comparison of which games are successful and which are not.

4. The Ecuador Project has limited time, personnel and material resources. As the Project and the development of gaming materials continue, it becomes more apparent that a choice must be made between concentrating on the production of new and different games, or upon the perfection and increased distribution of those that already exist. There are advantages and disadvantages for both directions, and at this time resources are still plentiful enough to do some of each.

5. Finally, more and more pressure has been put on those associated with the Project to evaluate the gaming materials. But the Project does not have the time or the personnel to test in an appropriate way all of the games developed by now. Therefore it is impossible to have much empirical validation of assumptions made in regard to the value of the games.

However, it is also true that the games alone are not considered to be learning media. They are one part of a larger learning medium which includes the activities of facilitators, the incidents involving community members at times when they are not playing games, critical incidents in the communities' social and political development, and so on. This complexity makes it even more difficult to isolate any one or several of the games in order to test its effectiveness. Ochoa's study was a thorough and systematic survey of Project participants' judgment of the worth of each game, but it involved no empirical testing. Attempts by outside institutions to evaluate the games meet with resistance, because the evaluators appear not to completely understand or be sympathetic to the whole range of goals of the Project.

In sum, evaluation is becoming an increasing problem, both because many parties are interested in the effects of the games and thus demand evaluation, and because the Project staff does not have the resources to carry out evaluation activities to meet their own needs.

# FOOTNOTES

1. Ochoa, Alberto, "Survey of Gaming Materials, Ecuador Project, Nonformal Education." Unpublished paper, University of Massachusetts, May, 1974.

2. Smith, William, "Conscientizacao and Simulation Games." Technical Note #2, Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts, 1972.

3. Ochoa, op. cit.

# CHAPTER VI

## THE FOTONOVELA

# THE FOTONOVELA

## I. INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the most important characteristic of the Nonformal Education Project of the University of Massachusetts was its avidity for experimentation with new ideas which eventually could constitute valid innovations in the strategy of social change in the rural sector of the country.

In this geographic sector, the collective media of communication ignores the rural population, responding almost exclusively to commercial interests, obviously found in other sectors. It could be said that in this order of things, the rural dwellers use only the radio, and this medium is generally used only for entertainment.

The Project designed and began a program of Radio and Radiovisión, referred to in another chapter of this document, to carry messages with educational content to the countryside. But it was obvious that certain types of messages required a different medium or the combined action of different media.

The idea of experimenting with the fotonovela came up in view of its wide acceptance by the rural sector, even though the high index of illiteracy obviously limits circulation.

However, the consumption of the fotonovela in Ecuador is high. No less than fifteen titles appear periodically at the newsstands and they are quickly bought. Thousands of copies are devoured by a public which looks at them as entertainment or for escape, but they also, curiously, look at them to learn ("They teach and inspire me in love," "They teach me the behavior of women in different places.")[1]

All the fotonovelas that circulate in Ecuador are foreign, principally from Mexico, with plots of Corin Tellado and other similar authors who deal exclusively with romantic themes. These fotonovelas have been accused of alienating people, of stimulating conformity, passivity and laziness.

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[1] Encuesta, "Fotonovelas" 1x1 No. 4-5, Quito.



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"The technique of the novelist," affirms Virginia Erhart (Revista Casa de las Americas No. 77) referring to Corin Tellado, the prototype of this genre, "consists of strengthening in the reader the certainty that his or her day-to-day existence is the only one possible; a strategy that stifles disturbing questions in respect to the social order in which he finds himself. . . . It serves the primordial objective of dissimulating the competitive nature of the society presented and nullifies, in the narrative context, all traces of class conflict; with which it transfers the accent of the tensions to a moral and personal plane which eliminates dangerous confrontation and inequalities in absolute conformity with the happenings of fairy tales."

Also, although with less solid arguments or even intuition, the formal educator and "cultured people" in general have traditionally considered the fotonovela as dangerous reading in the hands of the young; a subculture or "contemptible literature" that panders only to the ignorance, the bad taste and the naivete of a certain public. In a superficial way the fotonovela has been accused of being distractive in the sense that it distracts the attention of the student from his scholastic obligations and, of course, from good literature and awakens insane passions, etc.

However, in an article published in the German Tribune (June, 1972), Jorg Drews, referring to the "Canon of Trivial Readings and Literature" that was held at the Loccum Academy, said that to this literary contest came "great numbers" of professors "ready to adore what only a short time ago they condemned; to bless what was previously in their eyes the decadence of the West. . .?" "Or is it that the teachers have made haste to share the joy that at last permits them to admit the delights of a custom which up to then they had to speak against because of their profession?Is there not an incipient recognition of the pleasure of popular literature?"

But there are those who go even further. Christine Wischmann, in a letter that appeared in No. 6 (June, 1973) of the magazine, New Society under the eloquent title of "Is the literature of the masses

replacing the writer?" affirms, with support from a quote of a famous author, "This way, the problem is not only the fruit of 'development' but of the fact that, as much here as there, the writer does not respond to the needs of the people.""We are idealistic writers, Courths-Mahler (i.e. a German Corin Tellado) is the great realist." said Bertolt Brecht, aluding with these words not to realism as a literary genre but to make note of the social necessities.

The same author, Christine Wischmann, who is working on her Doctorate in Sociology at the Free University of Berlin, with a thesis on the fotonovela and the literature of the masses in Latin America, affirms, "When one writes philosophic essays, or a novel of six hundred pages, or difficult poems, he should not expect to be read by the wife of a worker with eight children, for example." (The writer and Social Change, Christine Wischmann, et.al.,CEDAL Edition, 1973). And in another paragraph of the same study she writes, "The plot of a fotonovela (or radionovela, telenovela, etc.) is literature in the same way as a novel with artistic merit, and he who says that it is not, denies literature the right to be a written expression of a human society."

At the margin of these antagonistic positions and without taking sides in pointless discussions on the nature of the fotonovela the Project decided to experiment with this genre, be it literature or not, taking it as a vehicle used to reaching a public on the fringe of the media of collective commynication, a characteristic that adds to the semi-illiteracy, not to mention the other symptoms that add to the lack of social opportunities for the Ecuadorian campesino.

## II. ANTECEDENTS

When the Nonformal Education Project began to talk about the production of an educational fotonovela, the educators we knew reacted in different ways. To some, it appeared to be a sensational idea, others believed that we were joking, and some preferred not to comment which was an indication of their opinion.

In any case, the plan was poorly received by those who represented the traditional concept of learning and teaching. To them it was not only a heterodox project, but also irreverent and even grotesque. However, given that our intention was to break down the pre-established canons of education, we continued giving form to the plan. Our objective was to use the format of the commercial fotonovela, with the goal of transmitting educational messages within the context of what we understand to be education. That is to say, contribute to that which man is, in every sense of the word, and gain his economic cultural and political freedom.

Within this idea we had to write the scripts around a central character called Manuel Santi. The name Santi is not well known in the Ecuadorian Highlands, but we chose it for its sonority in the first place, and also because there exists a leader of the same name in the eastern region of our country.

Don Santi is a man well known in the zone of El Puyo, where since his youth he has constantly confronted abusive authorities in some cases and the landowners in others. A few years ago he was elected a Provincial Advisor, with which, it could said, he crowned a political career that, although within the system, achieved some vindication for those of his class. The hero of our fotonovela was born then, inspired by a man who actually exists.

Given that the general purpose of the Nonformal Education Project was to produce educational alternatives outside of the scholarly environment, all of our efforts were channeled to the acquisition of extra-curricular education methodologies and of materials that serve as much the process of conceptualization as the internalization and practice of skills. Literacy is only an instrument for a more widespread action. In this way, all of our activities were directed toward goals that were beyond pure cognizable learning.

In developing the concept of the fotonovela, for example, we established objectives in the following order:

1. To increase the self-confidence of the campesino reader. By way of this objective we intended to return the self-assurance that the rural mestizo as well as the Indian has lost in his dealings with the urban man who is generally white or sometimes mestizo.

2. To create, if it does not exist, and develop the sense of solidarity. In other words, to sponsor the formations of human community and a community of action.

3. To create and present images that foster the concept of organization, which includes decision making, communicating, and strategy planning for action to move forward.

## III. CHARACTERISTICS

Once the decision to produce a series of educational fotonovelas was made, we discussed the definition of its morphological characteristics and its content.

In the first place it was evident that they should be produced in such a way as to compete with the commercial fotonovelas; that is, that they should be just as attractive to the public. It was necessary in the beginning, therefore, to give them a presentation as good as the best foreign editions, with stories that posessed the magnetism of the genre, avoiding any didactic appearance.

For this purpose a few stories were written using the chosen central character and in which gaudiness was consciously utilized to draw the attention of the reader.

Previously more precise goals had been made:

1. To create elements of follow-up and continuity for the practice and internalization of reading skills.

2. To destroy the belief that the collective communication media are open only to people who are urban, educated, and of the white culture.

3. To promote the development and strengthening of the campesino culture in general, and the Indian culture in particular.

4. To provide material that stimulates the directed discussions toward the following reinforcing aspects of individual totality: a.) self-esteem,b.) solution of conflicts, c.) strategy and decision making, and d.) community autonomy and solidarity.

In accordance with the appetite of the market and a previous study of costs, it was decided that the project fotonovelas would have the following physical characteristics:

Format: 21 X 28 cm.
Number of pages: 16 plus 4 for the cover
Paper: Offset newsprint for the interior pages and 120 gram couche for the cover.
Color: Interior 1 color and cover 4 colors
Impression: Offset
Binding: Two staples at the fold

With the stories discussed at length and with the dimensions of the fotonovela very precise. the scripts were elaborated.

The themes dealt with were the following:

a. Conflict of class and with authority (strategy and decision-making): "Between Love and Hope."
b. The problem of alcoholism (solution of conflicts): "The Stain of Aji."
c. The defective distribution of land (self-esteem, strategy and decision making): "Who Does Our Land Belong To?"
d. The problem of irrigation water and the disunity of the people (autonomy and community solidarity): "Water That You Must Not Drink."

## IV. THE CONTENT

The first series of the fotonovela, "Manuel Santi", contains various parts:

a. The title page
b. The story
c. Announcements or a promotion of nonformal education materials
d. Letters to the editor, and
e. A comic strip of José Manuel.

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a.) The title page is a very important element in terms of sales, that is, the acceptance of the fotonovela, and also for the message relayed by the cover image. Manuel Santi, for example, in the first fotonovela titled, "Between Love and Hope" appears with his girl friend, Juana, both looking something off in the distance. Manuel Santi's clenched fist is raised, which could have symbolic meaning to the campesino reader. Juana's expression is optimistic, almost cheerful in contrast to the expression of Manuel Santi which is serious, almost grim and decisive.

In the case of the first fotonovela ("Between Love and Hope") one finds on the back cover a photographic theme that could be interpreted as a group reflecting or talking about it: a group of children who are looking avidly at something before their eyes. The background of the photograph is black and above it is the question: Who are these children? Below it is another question: What are they looking at? And later after suspensive moments, on the right side is another question: . . .And you?

The purpose is to stimulate reflection and dialogue in groups of peasants using , in this case, a visual recourse.

b.) After the title page comes the principal part which is the story where Manuel Santi, the hero of the fotonovela, finds himself in different situations that show his personality and at the same time create a spirit of solidarity in the incipient communal life of which he is a part.

In the series of fotonovelas published up to now, Manuel Santi has been presented in four distinct situations: The first involves the construction and acquisition of a small school with the intervention of local and national authorities. In the second, Manuel Santi contends with the conflicts provided by the alcoholism of some of his neighbors. In this occasion Santi looks for the cause of the neighborhood situation, visiting the house of those who were implicated in the death of a companion. He and the political lieu-

tenant iniciate an investigation and by different means find out that the reason the residents of the community drink is not only to socialize but on occasion to escape a reality that is cruel and at times insufferable. "The whole crop was ruined by the frost, and I have many debts. . .with drink I forget." The wife of another says, "He spends all the money on drink! He is paid on Saturday morning and goes drinking immediately. He doesn't even know what is happening . . ." In the end Manuel Santi, in some cases, clears up the problems of his neighbors; in other, he takes the role of an active leader; but he always creates unity in his family and in the neighborhood.

His adventures run from the negotiation for peasant rights, as in the case of a lack of water for irrigation, to the resolution of problems of land tenure or the utilization of local roads.

Santi always counts on the support of his girlfriend, Juana, and his friends who provide him with unconditional help. The small group to which he belongs has high regard for mutual help and solidarity. They are together to play soccer, to talk on the street corner of the plaza in Malchimpamba, and when necessary, confront official authorities and external dangers.

The Ecuadorian campesino, who constitutes our principle audience has been historically and politically alienated from the life and "progress" of the urban middle class. Up until a few years ago one frequently saw advertisements in the highland newspapers offering haciendas for sale indicating the number of cattle as well as the humber of families residing on the property who would constitute the "property" of the new owner.

c.) The announcement of nonformal educational materials was an interesting element of this publication. We intended to introduce various fluency games that the project had designed previously and that proved valid for Indian and mestizo communities of the Ecuadorian highlands. However, we found that this publicity had

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results in the city rather than in the country. We received solicitudes for these learning elements coming mainly from organizations and readers interested in anthropology and sociology or from educators who wished to innovate their own systems.

d.) In the section of Letters to the Editor or Letters to Manuel Santi, the effect was very interesting. Initially, we invented some letters from fictitious readers but that in any case were based on commentary from the rural readers that we had recompiled. The curious thing was that this initial invention provoked a series of letters written by the readers, this time completely authentic, who commented on the effects of the fotonovela in their communities and in some cases questioning the format, the validity of the stories, and in other cases asking for more information about the life of Manuel Santi and his heroic adventures.

e.) The last section on the back cover is intended to inject a humorous note in the context of the magazine and to present the same Manuel Santi from a different perspective. While in the serious part of the story Manuel Santi is constantly in a position attacking directly the reality of subjugation in which he and his community live, in the humorous section José Manuel jokes with the myths and stereotypes of which the Ecuadorian peasant is victim. We see, for example, in fotonovela No. 1: First picture (without words) José Manuel agitatedly approaches the door of a great church where a little half naked girl and an Indian woman are seated. Second picture (José Manuel knealing before the confessional obviously very devout and wide-eyed.) "I confess Father that I have not stolen. . ." Third picture (priest looking preoccupied and José Manuel still wide-eyed) "But, Son. . .why then do you confess?" Fourth picture (Jose Manuel with a very ingenuous expression and at the same time a little sly). "Yes, Father. . . it is because they say that the Indian who does not steal, sins."

## V. SUMMARY

In the first issues of our publication, we tried to close each episode on an optimistic and hopeful note. This rationalization, unconscious of course, put us in a position of creating a cathartic process in our readers. In other words, in attempting to transmit optimism we were in fact transmitting an unreal world, where justice prevailed, where all problems were solved,and where ethics governed the actions of communities and of men .

Once aware of this utopia we also captured the perspective of fairy tales that we were creating for our readers. And this is again an example of the sublime message that the producer or director can transmit to the public because of his own ingenuous conscience.

The next step was to look for alternatives to the happy ending. First, we tried to look for a more "existentialist" ending that did not present a solution or an unreal situation. Another possibility was to create various endings, which is what we finally decided on for the fourth issue. Here a happy ending is sketched out first, but turning the page, the reader becomes aware that it was only a story he was listening to and that reality was something else. Then, the other ending, which is not exactly happy, is dramatized on the following pages.

## VI. PRECAUTIONS

a.) In elaborating the definitive texts of the fotonovelas, that is, the phrases attributed to each character, special care was taken. Each sentence, each word was virtually weighted and measured, not only to avoid mistakes but also to facilitate reading by people who do not know the language well, and who are sometimes at the most, semi-literate.

We used the Inventory of Vocabulary of Frequent Use by Carlos Poveda and Antonio Merizalde (Quito, 1969), and the Formula of Spaulding[2] to establish the density of language.

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[2]CIESPAL, Quito. September, 1972.

b.) In writing the script every page was set up to contain a complete scene in order to facilitate comprehension of the content and to give a uniform rhythm to the story as was appropriate for the target public.

c.) The script demanded absolute precision in graphics as much in the angle as in the depth of each shot as well as the details of the environment, etc. In order to cover any possibility of error and to give the editor more creative freedom, at least three versions of each shot were taken, introducing to the instructions of the script any modifications that seemed opportune during the shooting sessions.

d.) The tentative diagram of each page, which was delineated concommitantly with the elaboration of the script, was modified in view of the photographs taken, in order to achieve a symmetrically balanced composition that would respond to the corresponding play of images.

## VII. DISTRIBUTION SYSTEMS

We tested the following systems of distribution:

a. The commercial mechanism of the Muñoz Hnos. Company is the best organized of its kind. By this means we wanted to far outsell all the other fotonovelas. However, it is not an appropriate system for our publication because it does not reach the rural sector. Its public is almost exclusively in urban areas.

b. We gave a limited number of copies to sell to people who work on the interprovincial transport system--namely, railroad and bus ticket sellers. These people together sold 100 copies in a month. We think that this means of distribution is potentially sufficient.

c. We also gave fotonovelas to sell to some grocery stores at the small town level, but the results were not very encouraging.

d. By way of educational systems we intended to test the receptivity of our fotonovelas as material for the learning and continuity of reading. Several centers for adult education received them free of charge as didactic material, but only a few copies were actually used.

e. The best vehicle for the distribution of the fotonovela turned out to be the "charlatan", a traveling salesman who goes from fair to fair hawking his wares. One of them managed to sell thousands of copies all over the country to exactly the people for whom it was intended.

## VII. POSSIBLE USES OF THE FOTONOVELA

The non-formal education project basically attempted to introduce the fotonovela as complementary material for the centers for adult education in a functional way, and as material for new readers in the case of sale to the general public. However, we now think that there are other possible uses for the fotonovela. One of the most important of these uses is as supplementary material or helping material for the school system. Subjects such as Civic Education or the History of Ecuador which by nature are rather arid could be easily simplified by way of the use of different audiovisual aids. Within nonformal education, the fotonovela can be combined with other expressive elements such as puppet shows, community theater, learning games and educational series. These combinations would always depend not only on a program with clear, specific goals and personnel who are dedicated to their work, but also on the ability to coordinate their efforts to the best advantage. Specifically, we suggest the areas of nutrition, agriculture and health (as it deals with improved sanitation), where the methods of nonformal education in general and the fotonovela in particular can be used as instruments that can transfer skills with excellent results.

## IX. WHAT WE LEARNED

Given that our program was very experimental, the goals we focused on from the beginning had little to do with expansion, the number of persons or communities that we reached, or with the reduction of costs in a unitary analysis. Instead, we tried to constantly test even the most hairbrained ideas in such a way that this creative exercise might result in new knowledge by way of experiences that

we ourselves created. This is the case of the fotonovela, and we can attest to the following:

1. That the rural inhabitant can easily grasp the themes of his/her existence when these are presented graphically in two dimensions. This implies that sessions of dialogues which reflect on a situation is made easier using this resource the fotonovela, as a stimulus.

2. That one's self-respect is increased when s/he knows that other people in other places are proud to be what they are. In other words, that emulation is a very important aspect of affective learning.

3. That good humor, in spite of the oppressive conditions surrounding the Ecuadorian peasant, is an element that aids in confronting the daily situation of economic limits and cultural and psychic depression.

4. That government institutions in charge of extensionism, of education, and of community services in general become very interested when they see that an innovative project is feasible.

   Before they try a project out in an institutional context, it is easier to do it outside of the institution in order to later present it as a possible alternative.

5. That the existant institutions and channels of communication, except the most orthodox, are already present in the culture and in the customs of the society. If it is necessary to seek new channels of communication and transference of information, it is equally necessary to identify elements that already exist as integral parts of the culture.

# CHAPTER VII

## AN EXPERIENCE: RADIO

## AN EXPERIENCE: RADIO

It is night. A group of people are gathered around a kerosene lamp in the schoolhouse of a typical Ecuadorian highland community. The attraction is a small group of outsiders who are talking with the people of the village, presenting some "radio programs", and asking questions. The conversation generalizes, and is recorded on tape.

Before the evening ends, the villagers undergo a strange experience: they hear their own voices, "word for word, just what we have said", they say to each other. "This way one cannot lie, because it repeats exactly what was said", say others. Then another voice is raised. It is a woman who regrets not having said anything during the conversation "because now I cannot hear myself ..." She reveals an urgent need to speak in front of the microphone, later being able to feel the sensation of hearing her own voice and having her family and friends listen.

### WHAT IS THE PURPOSE?

The scene described above has been re-enacted many times. It concerns the radio programs developed by the University of Massachusetts' Nonformal Education Project.

When the Dean of U-Mass visited Ecuador in 1973, he requested, after talking with a functionary of AID Division of Education, that a project be initiated for the production of radio programs.

Studies made by different national and international organizations have determined that the radio is a resource that penetrates even the most isolated areas, constituting as such the only link between the listener and the "outside world."

In Ecuador, we asked ourselves why we did not also use the radio as an educational medium to communicate the contents of our programs to the rural population and, in general, to those who, for good reasons or bad, have not had the opportunity to attend formal classes. It would also, however, include those who have had that opportunity.

So the objective established for these programs was basically that of STIMULATING IN THE LISTENERS A CRITICAL PROCESS WITH RESPECT TO THEIR EXISTENTIAL SITUATION AS IT TRIES TO ELEVATE THEIR INDICES OF SELF-ESTEEM

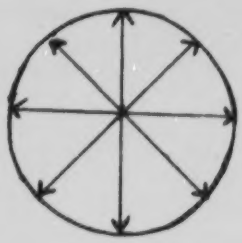
AND SELF-CONFIDENCE. It is expected, however, that these goals will not be completely achieved without establishing a system of feedback which would generate new programs and even a new viewpoint (always renovated) within Project staff members which would eventually set in motion the endless process of "returning to the rural dweller his own voice."

Once the radio programs were produced, it became necessary to think about their distribution. Given that the contents alluded to themes intended to awaken a critical conscience in the listeners, it was necessary to have the patronage of an official entity within the political context of the country which would coincide with the goals of U-Mass. The directorship of SENARED (now known as the Section of Educational Technology of the Miniatry of Public Education) had just arrived from Mexico and was enthusiastic about the programs. In addition to patronage, it suggested adding a new element: visual aids, thus suggesting an extension of the program, to be called Radiovisión.

PROGRAM PRODUCTION

In this way, the three types of programs are conceived to be transmitted as much for captive audiences as by commercial radio channels, their goals being educational (attitude change and specific behavior change.)

It is possible to observe the specifics of each one of the three types of programs in the following diagram:



RADIO DRAMA

High potential to embrace large audiences. Emphasis on extensive attitude change.

ENTERTAINMENT

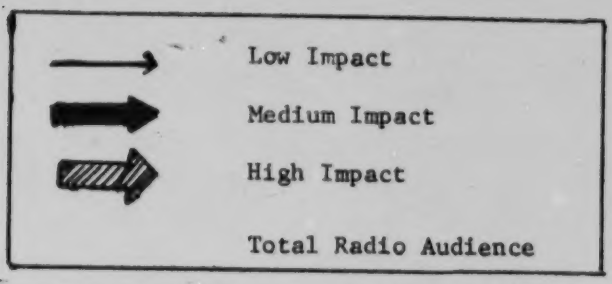
High potential to embrace a large audience. Emphasis on a specific attitude change.

DIRECT PARTICIPATION

Low potential to embrace large audiences. High potential to transmit a specific behavorial change.

(diagram continues)

KEY




To satisfy the needs created, the Project contracted third parties to take charge of the production of three different program types. The result of this has been many hours of recording with little or no value. Later a consultant was hired who, jointly with Project personnel, produced new programs utilizing the recordings made earlier in the country but placing greater emphasis on the structure of the scripts and on the study edition.

At this time, seven entertainment programs and five direct-participation programs were produced and recorded:

a) in a professional studio;
b) with voices of rural people;
c) who read and interpreted scripts written by professionals in their own way;
d) using music and sound effects recorded in the country, markets, etc. to increase the credibility index in the production stage.

It was these twelve programs which put the personnel of the Project in direct contact with the study of radio. The problems encountered, without ever being insurmountable, added another perspective to the study of teaching-learning.

Some of the "little things" experienced during the long hours of recording (work began at about 11:00 a.m. and continued until 2:00 or 3:00 the following morning) were the same kinds of things which serve to create any other kind of working environment. The campesinos of Chimborazo Province, whose normal rhythm of life was seen as completely changed, participated as actors. The scripts were "interpreted" by each actor in his or her own way, trying to follow the instructions given by the director of the production. Generally they recorded without previous rehearsals.

The programs produced during this stage are seven entertainment programs, five of which are scripts with a similar format: The Horn, The Dry Leaf, Beauty, The Fair, and Humor (a humorous dialogue.)

The Dry Leaf and Beauty were recorded in two different ways: one using the campesinos as actors, and the other using Carlos Moreno and Enrique Tasiguano as actors. The object was to discover the degree of acceptability of "non-campesino voices"* in rural audiences. Henceforth, when "entertainment programs" are mentioned, we will be referring to The Horn and The Dry Leaf (both using campesino voices), The Fair, Beauty, and Humor.

Also, five programs of direct participation have been produced with four distinct formats: Letter Dice, Number Dice, Generative Words ("The Job" or "Work"), Puppets (Pochito), and the Fotonovela ("The Charlatán.")

ENTERTAINMENT PROGRAMS

DESTINATION: These programs are aimed at rural audiences of the Ecuadorian Highlands, trying not only to reach the family as a social nucleus, but the group of people comprising the peasant community.

FORMAT: The entertainment programs have an attractive format of the type known as "magazine." It combines a fast moving dialogue, developed generally by two or more campesinos, with typical national music, and some information relevant to the listeners. The dialogue deals with a pre-determined theme (with consciousness-raising content) which is of special interest to the peasant. Each of the entertainment programs is identified in the same way, "The Campesino Magazine," and runs for fifteen minutes with the intent of corresponding to standard units of radio programming.

* "Non-campesinos" in the sense that their voices do not employ the Spanish language with the typical variations of the Ecuadorian Indian.

OBJECTIVES: The general goal established for these five programs was: to raise the self-esteem and self-confidence indices of the listeners, measurable by a change in attitude. In other words, the intent is to combine an interesting presentation with a subtle prescriptive message, related to a change in attitude. The change in attitude was selected for two reasons:

a) It seems most compatible with the quick, short, one-shot style of the programs;

b) A change of attitude is a prerequisite for a change in behavior.

It is necessary to make clear that within the entertainment series, each program has its specific goal:

| PROGRAMS | SPECIFIC GOALS |
|---|---|
| The Dry Leaf | Raise the self-esteem of the listener. |
| The Horn | 1. To question the belief that the countryside is sad.<br>2. That the sad music of the countryside reflects the rural reality. |
| The Fair | That the campesino questions an unjust social context, in which he/she occupies an extremely disadvantageous position. |
| Beauty | Raises the index of self-esteem in the campesino by relating the concept of beauty to his human type and to his world in general. |
| Humor | To observe how the campesino reacts to a simple humorous stimulus. |

The aforementioned programs refer to aspects of daily life which should interest the campesino. For example:

The Dry Leaf takes as a base the verses of a popular song that relates the lives of the campesinos to the dry leaves that are carried by the wind, or with the little plants that bear fruit.

The Horn presents controversially the idea of the sad music of the countryside and the lack of communication between the different communities that live in the rural sectors of Ecuador.

The Fair deals with an ordinary fair day, with all the aspects experienced by the peasant during that day.

Beauty talks about the distinctive human types of beauty and later compares them with the concept of rural life.

Humor refers to an Indian "pulling the leg" of a white who by coincidence has the same name.

PROGRAMS OF DIRECT PARTICIPATION

DESTINATION: These programs were conceived for the rural audiences of the coast and the highlands (although the participants were highland campesinos). Although it is preferred that these programs be presented in areas where the "facilitator model" is known, or where the educational material of the Project has been presented, they could be presented anywhere.

FORMAT: As with the entertainment programs, these programs come under the heading of "The Magazine of the Campesinos", and last about fifteen minutes in order to comply with standard units of radio programming.

Also, considering that part of the Project's strategy is the appeal to the curiosity of human beings, it has been attempted to give each program a different and attractive format in order to awaken interest in the listeners. If this interest is not won and maintained, the content will fall into a vacuum.

OBJECTIVES: The goal of these programs that try to use the radio as an educational tool is to have the listeners participate directly while listening to the radio so that, by way of transference of certain facts, an opening for change is provoked.

The general goals established for this type of program are 1) to motivate the interest of the rural people in nonformal education; 2) introduce materials into the community to reinforce nonformal education.

The specific goals of each of the programs are as follows:

| PROGRAM | SPECIFIC GOALS |
|---|---|
| Letter Dice | 1. To improve word skills.<br>2. To interest the listener in improving these skills. |
| Number Dice | 1. To improve basic mathematic skills.<br>2. To interest the listener in improving these skills. |
| Generative Words | 1. To support the literacy methods of Freire and of Ashton-Warner.<br>2. To induce discussion and consciousness-raising reflection.<br>3. To motivate cooperation of the listeners with the facilitators. |
| Puppets (Ponchito) | 1. To induce the community to use the puppets as motivating elements.<br>2. To teach the making and utilization of puppets. |
| Fotonovela ("The Charlatán") | 1. To interest the community in the fotonovela as an instrument of nonformal education.<br>2. To promote the sale of fotonovelas. |

The themes dealt with in each of the programs are, briefly:

Letter Dice: presents a game of syllable dice with a quick, competitive format trying to form the greatest number of words.

Number Dice: uses a seller in the market who figures her accounts quickly to motivate and introduce this educational game.

Generative Words: is based on the desire to learn to read, and presents the Freire and Ashton-Warner method of literacy, at the same time initiating a series of questions about the words trabajo and hombre.

Puppets: presents a sketch with a puppet named Ponchito, who uses material of self-expression, indicating its form and use in a community.

The Fotonovela. In this program, the sale of the fotonovela is promoted by way of "The Charlatán", a character found at the city and town fairs of our country.

RADIODRAMAS

The radiodramas were conceived as a series of radio pilot programs based on dramatizations (with specific learning goals) whose formats could be a series , or independent units. They are tuned specifically to rural audiences and can include (if possible) a pilot program in Quechua.

To put the idea of radiodrama into production, a person who was not part of the production team was contracted. In this way, all twenty-five episodes of the dramatic radio series were produced with rural themes and destined for the rural population of the coast of Ecuador. Twelve complete episodes of another series were made for the highlands.

To give a clearer idea of this type of program, some of the considerations presented by the producers follow:

DESTINATION. The program would be oriented toward a rural audience, attempting to reach all members of the family. Because of the great situational, economic, cultural and linguistic diversity, we feel that planning one production to serve both the highlands and the coast is not enough. We believe that, considering the general lines and objectives, it is necessary to produce two types of programs, one for the campesino of the coast and the other for the campesino of the highlands; proposing in addition, as a test, at least three programs in Quechua for the latter region.

FORMAT: We believe that, because of the cultural level and the avocations existing in the target area; and considering the objectives put forward, the radiodrama is the best system to utilize. On the coast, because of a more faithful audience, we think the format adopted should be that of segments --

one drama in episode form, placing particular emphasis on easily identified characters. Happily, there is no radiodrama of this generally well accepted type produced in the country at this time, which should guarantee a large listening audience. For the highlands, on the other hand, a radiodrama of episodes is not proposed -- rather, a series of dramatic programs in which the situation is resolved in one or at most three episodes. This genre, which we could call "radiostories", permits great flexibility, using the same characters in any number of situations. We believe that the central character of these "radiostories" should be Manuel Santi, popularized by the fotonovela.

OBJECTIVES: The fundamental objectives could be defined generally as the following:

1. To promote the development of a critical capacity capable of perceiving the contradictions of the world surrounding the radio listener.
2. To facilitate awareness of a situation susceptible to change within the general plan of the present order.
3. To stimulate an awareness of the identity of the listener by introducing the question, "Who am I?"
4. To emphasize the necessity of communication as a source of solidarity.
5. To popularize the idea of cooperation as one of the roots of change.
6. To stimulate the identification of change with a process of changes, and not as an isolated mutation.

INVESTIGATION: As is logical, a socio-cultural investigation of the principal target zones for radio programming was initiated before production began. The investigation tried to establish language, vocabulary, idioms and peculiarities of diction; to establish characters, and in particular the characters of identification in keeping with the characteristics of conscious and subconscious aspiration of the audience; set a family circle,

delineate antagonists; establish fundamental themes, cycles and rhythms of theme development, the form of narration, etc.; investigate to what degree the narrative folklore of the regions studies are useful; and find other characteristics that would help to achieve the proposed objectives.

## THE EVALUATION OF THE RADIO PROGRAMS

Once the programs were produced, it was necessary to test them in order to determine their acceptance by the campesino audience for whom they were intended.

An "evaluation" was never considered, because it would constitute too high a goal. To illustrate this point better, one could say that before presenting the programs it was indispensable to take into account the sociological findings on each of the target communities; pre- and post-tests would then permit measurement of the impact produced by the program, analysis of the content of each program, inquiry as to audience size, etc. But this was not the proposition of the radio end of the Project, nor was it the goal. It was considered most appropriate to effect pilot tests utilizing the system known as the "Rumor Clinic."

The programs tested were the following:

1. Entertainment - with five different scripts and one similar format: The Horn, The Fair, The Dry Leaf, Beauty, and Humor, intending with each to treat some aspect of interest to the campesino.
2. Direct participation - five programs with four distinct formats: Number Dice, Letter Dice, Generative Words, the Fotonovela and the Puppets, trying to obtain with them the participation of the listener during and/or after hearing the program.

Previously, certain possible levels of perception were established and with these in mind the investigation was designed.

The levels are as follows:

a) Simple comprehension and retention of the information.

b) Interpretation of the information.

c) Discussion, using the information to draw conclusions.

d) Generalizations of the conclusions and transference of the conclusions to concrete life situations.

SELECTION OF COMMUNITIES FOR PROGRAM TESTING

It was necessary to choose relatively distinct communities to obtain certain comparisons that would permit the degree of program acceptance to be observed. The variables considered for the location of the communities were the following:

1. Intervention or no intervention by U-Mass.
2. Ethnic composition.
3. Language spoken by the majority.
4. Geographic location.

In this way, five communities with direct intervention by U-Mass were selected as were five with no direct U-Mass intervention. In these ten communities the entertainment programs were tested.

In accord with the same variables, ten more communities were selected for the testing of the direct participation programs, taking into account some communities (with or without U-Mass intervention) that had already heard some of the entertainment programs.

The communities chosen are presented in the following chart.

| COMMUNITY | INTERVENTION | ETHNIC COMP. | LANGUAGE | PROGRAMS ENTERTAIN. | PROGRAMS DIR. PART. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Majipamba (Chimbz.) | None | Indigenous | Quechua | Fair<br>Dry Leaf | |
| San Martín (Chimbz.) | UMass/ Facilit. | Indigenous | Quechua | Dry Leaf<br>Humor | |
| Pogiopamba (Chimbz.) | None | Indigenous | Quechua | Fair<br>Humor | Letter Dice |
| S. Francisco (Chimbz.) | UMass/ Facilit. | Mestizo | Spanish | Horn<br>Dry Leaf<br>Fair<br>Beauty<br>Humor | |
| Quimiag (Chimbz.) | UMass/ Facilit. | Mestizo | Spanish | | Puppets |
| Ulpán (Chimbz.) | UMass/ Facilit. | Mestizo | Spanish | | Fotonovela |
| El Tingo (Cotopaxi) | None | Mestizo | Spanish | Humor<br>The Horn | |
| Jaloa La Playa (Tung.) | Bookmobile | Mestizo | Spanish | The Fair<br>Beauty | |
| El Placer (Tung.) | CEMA Bookmobile | Mestizo | Spanish | Beauty<br>The Horn<br>Dry Leaf<br>The Fair<br>Humor | Fotonovela |
| El Rosario (Tung.) | UMass/ Facilit. | Mestizo | Spanish | Beauty<br>Humor | Puppets |
| Ladrillo (Tung.) | UMass/ Facilit. | Mestizo | Spanish | | Number Dice |
| Chocaló (Tung.) | UMass/ Facilit. | Mestizo | Spanish | Beauty<br>The Fair<br>The Horn<br>Dry Leaf<br>Humor | |
| Hualcanga S. Fco (Tung.) | CEMA Bookmobile | Mestizo | Spanish | The Fair<br>Dry Leaf<br>(Semi-pro) | Generative Words |
| Teligote (Tung.) | Bookmobile | Indigenous | Quechua | The Fair<br>The Horn | Generative Words |
| Tembo (Chimbz.) | UMass/ Facilit. | Mestizo | Spanish | | Letter Dice |

In the lapse established for the pilot tests, some outside factors arose which constituted a certain type of constriction, conscious or unconscious, and which affected, however slightly, the tests.

When trying to work in communities with very little intervention and where there had been no previous contact, various difficulties arose. For example, in Cotopaxi province during one morning it proved futile to try to find communities that were willing to participate, in the Pujilí and Mulalo sectors. In Mulalo, most of the inhabitants worked on the great haciendas where with just a quick look it was possible to appreciate the poverty and submission of the people.

In the two aforementioned sectors, the Project team was unknown and the townspeople were suspicious of them and of the name of the institution (U-Mass.) The invitation to talk and listen to the radio programs proved menacing, possibly because the people feared what they did not understand.

In Bolivar province, it also proved impossible to test the programs. No suitable communities could be found because of suspicion and because the leaders were not in the community (one of them being in prison.)

With these antecedents, it was decided to work in those communities where some kind of contact existed. A date was set up beforehand to return later and present the program.

Another very important factor to be considered was the fact that it was not possible to present the programs in two sessions, one in the morning and one at night as had been planned in the office timetable. The morning session was almost impossible, because the campesinos left for work very early in the morning and did not return home until five o'clock in the afternoon. The number of communities where morning sessions were possible was very limited.

The afternoon sessions proved beneficial providing us with the opportunity to attend meetings dealing with community or religious issues.

RESULTS

The acceptance of the programs by the groups tested are in the following order:

I. Entertainment

a) The Fair motivates discussion and reflection. It relates to real life with the experiences that the peasants themselves, their relatives or friends have had. Each part of every program is questioned on four established levels. The program is so "real" that retention and comprehension is easy. This ease of understanding facilitates discussion of the program, the drawing of conclusions and the transference of them to real-life situations.

The "realism" of the program derives basically from the authenticity of the theme, the inserts pre-recorded in the countryside, and the actual voices of the campesinos.

b) Humor. This program did not provoke any discussion about the plot (an Indian "pulling the leg" of a white), but it did prove to be an effective instrument to bring out humor in the people in the form of fables, charades, stories, jokes, singing, etc. It brought out the creativity of the campesino. Considering the previously mentioned elements, it is important to note that this program presented another unexpected facet, namely that of a neutralizing element when tempers heated as a result of discussion of another program, or the attitudes of another listener.

c) The Dry Leaf. The song, the theme of which provided the basis of the script, turned out to be well known in the country. This fact contributed to the acceptance of the program. Also, the song alludes to different elements of the country environment, such as trees, leaves, wind, etc., all of which are related in the program to situations in rural life.

The acceptance prompted us to think about the possibility of using similar songs, well known in the country, for the production of other programs.

d) The Horn. The principal intention of this program was centered on the relationship of country music composed by whites to the sadness of the rural environment. However, the result was that the listeners questioned only the second part of the relation, ignoring the first. But what they found more relevant was the news item included in the program

about the discrimination encountered by a group of Otavalo Indians in a restaurant in Quito and the greetings of the Shuar.

These points gave way to heated discussions which offered rich material for analysis.

e) Beauty. This program turned out to be very abstract and it could not be determined whether or not the listeners understood our concept of beauty. Perhaps it does not enter their culture in the same way as it does ours.

II. Direct Participation

It is not feasible to put this group of programs into an order as with those previously mentioned. Instead, commentaries will be presented about each format tested.

a) Number and Letter Dice. This format proved to be very attractive and interesting. Each person took his "grain of sand" when he wrote a number or a letter in one of the faces of the dice. When playing, each person felt more a part of the game because it was "his/her number" or "his/her letter" that was found. In talks after the game, they brought up the ease which the dice bring to learning. One comment on the number dice is the following: "In the beginning it was not clear because it was a mixture of noises, the square, the shouts, and suddenly the dice are thrown in. I would like a better explanation ..."

b) Generative Words. This program is classified in this group instead of "Entertainment", because the listeners participate in discussions about the words trabajo and hombre; also because the words are not tangible, and do not constitute an element (as dice, for example) with which they can work as they listen to the program and follow the instructions.

However, the resulting discussions were very constructive because in the majority of cases they had never questioned words or concepts so human as are "work" and "man."

c) The Fotonovela. The use of the "charlatán" (a person who takes advantage of fairs to sell the strangest things, using extravagant verbal and other tricks) as a means of promoting and inducing the purchase of

fotonovelas proved surprising. It was noticed that the campesinos not only referred to Manuel Santi, but also related their experiences with "exploitation" at the hands of city people.

d) The Puppets. The program of Ponchito was tested in two communities with contradictory results. In Quimiac, in the province of Chimborazo, where the inhabitants are in direct contact with the city, one lady contributed new ideas about materials to make puppets (she had learned these from television when she was in Guayaquil.) It was here, however, that the expected results failed to materialize. In Rosario, in the province of Tungurahua, after presenting the program, the group took the puppets and improvised a sketch, the theme of which was the school they wished to build.

Afterward, the children took the puppets and began a little dialogue between themselves, one accusing the other of not going to the town fiesta and the other saying that he had not missed even one fiesta and that was why he was always drunk. This was, without a doubt, a reflection of what the children saw in the life of the adults, and this little scene, hilarious at the moment, led later to a very serious discussion which brought out some interesting reflections.

OBSERVATIONS

Some general observations on the tested programs are as follows:

1. -The musical sections are very long and distract the attention of the participant.
   -The instructions for making puppets were not very clear.
   -"The voice of the puppet was very exaggerated."
   -More reiteration is necessary to affirm concepts and instructions for making the puppets.
2. All the programs presented were well received because the voices used were accepted as campesinos voices.
3. With the exception of Beauty, the themes dealt with proved interesting to the campesino voice.
4. All the programs are directed to the highland Indian campesinos and do not take the mestizo campesinos into account.

Observations cont'd.

5. After listening to the programs and considering the last point, mestizos always talk of the Indians as "a world apart", which has nothing to do with theirs. During the discussion which follows the program, they identify the problems and can relate them to their lives; but generally they refer to the Indians as the runitas, the donitos; they do not see them as peers.

6. When the programs were tested in communities where Quechua was dominant, problems arose that were overcome. The majority did not understand (especially the direct participation programs) until a bilingual member of the community explained to them what was happening in Quechua. Only then did they react and begin the discussion following the program, which was conducted in their own language by a member of the testing team.

7. In the entertainment programs, the news items included in the four programs caused the strongest reaction, because the listeners were interested in knowing "what was being done elsewhere." The news item constituted an access route for certain attitudes such as curiosity, questioning and identification with their lives relating to what they had just heard.

8. The use of the tape recorder awakened curiosity in most of the communities. The people always asked to hear what they had said during the discussion. They sang or related something to hear their own voices, but the principal motivation was: "We want to tell other communities what we are doing."

## THE EXTENSION OF THE IDEA: RADIOVISION

### What is Radiovisión?

Radiovisión is an audiovisual resource combining pre-recorded radio programs and visual aids, and is used to transmit messages with educational content to a predetermined public. It constitutes a new concept of education in Ecuador.

Following a strategy the general goal of which is "to give a voice to the campesino," it is not hoped to produce programs for the rural people, but to give them the technology of the radio so that they themselves can create

their own programs in accord with their own neceasities and interests. In this way it is hoped, additionally, to stimulate the creative capacity of the Ecuadorian campesino.

## OBJECTIVES

The objectives established jointly (Education Technology/U-Mass) to implement this idea are as follows:

1. - To stimulate in the listeners a critical process with respect to their existential situation.
2. - To stimulate the sense of self-esteem and self-confidence of the listeners.
3. - To teach while entertaining.
4. - To motivate discussion in the group as a means of consciousness-raising.
5. - To produce programs on a national scale whose production is in the hands of campesinos.

## IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RADIOVISION PROGRAM

The interest that the Section of Education Technology has in developing a new system of communication with the rural sector of the Ecuadorian population by way of radio coincides with the experiences developed by U-Mass within the framework of nonformal education -- as much in the morphological aspect as in the philosophical.

It is necessary to make clear that the experience of U-Mass with respect to radio programs placed emphasis on the contents with the aim of achieving a change in attitudes of the listeners (elevation of their self-esteem and self-confidence indices). However, Radiovisión tries to return to the campesino "his voice" by way of a transference of a technology, so that they themselves can produce programs, stimulating in this way the creative capacity of the campesino and converting it into an extension of the first experience called "radio."

INTERVENING ELEMENTS

1. Selection of Communities and Monitors

The Radiovisión programs began with five Sierra communities, in diverse provinces of the Ecuadorian highlands. In these communities, personnel called "monitors" had been selected and were responsible for the coordination of the programs. The monitors attended a training course designed to orient them to the content of Radiovisión, in the use of support materials and other alternatives. Also, the consciousness-raising dialogue was introduced as a means of stimulating work in the community.

a) Communities:

The criteria established for the selection of communities was:

1. Mestizo and bilingual indigenous communities.
2. Easily accessible communities that show interest.
3. Communities in which, when possible, the cooperation of the communal council can be relied upon.

Considering these criteria, it was decided initially to work in the provinces of Imbabura, Chimborazo, Cotopaxi and perhaps Bolivar. In August of 1974, a team of members of Education Technology and U-Mass initiated visits to the different communities with the goal of inviting them to participate and share the proposals of Radiovisión with the communities.

The communities that showed interest in participating, and that were visited on two occasions (August 7-13, 1974; October 21-25, 1974) were:

| | |
|---|---|
| CHIMBORAZO: | Asaco Grande |
| | San Vicente di Igualata |
| | Santa Rosa |
| | San Antonio |
| COTOPAXI: | Pataín |
| | Tigualo |
| | El Tejar (La Victoria) |
| IMBABURA: | La Compañia and surrounding communities |
| CARCHI: | San Vicente de Pusir |

b) Monitors

Monitors are representatives elected by their own communities who are responsible for the Radiovisión program of the community.

During the visits, much emphasis was placed on the election of representatives in order that they be those who would have the necessary support for their activities in the future. The monitors could share the experiences of training and later more with each program presentation.

Leaving the selection of representatives to each community resulted in a series of advantages, some of which were:

1. For the most part, those chosen were respected by almost all of the members of the community.
2. Those chosen deserved the confidence of their peers.
3. Generally those selected had some status and some type of authority.
4. The community felt responsible toward the chosen representatives, and because of this could offer all the help needed in order to continue with the job with which the monitor was charged.
5. The participants were chosen in community meeting and because of this the whole community became interested in Radiovisión and what their friends were going to learn in Quito.

Briefly, then the community knew who had been selected because they themselves did the selecting. This constituted a new communal responsibility: the development of the program.

2. Materials

Among the principal materials required to implement this program were: tape recordings, posters, helpful pamphlets, tape recorders, cassettes and batteries, all of which will be explained briefly.

a) Tape recordings. With the proposition of disseminating the idea, five programs were chosen for this new stage: The Fair, The Dry Leaf, The Horn, Beauty and Personalities of the Countryside, all of which belong to the series of entertainment programs. It should be noted that the first four programs were used in the pilot tests previously mentioned. However,

Personalities of the Countryside has a format completely distinct from the others, as it is an interview with a country leader. The program is not edited and does not have a script. The idea was to present the campesino a less structured, less elaborated program as a stimulus and incentive for them to develop and create their own programs.

b) Posters. If the Radiovisión programs try to generate change in the attitudes of the rural population, then the posters were conceived to reinforce the spoken message. Each poster contains the following elements:

1. It has an autonomous message.
2. It awakens interest in the participants.
3. It induces questioning.

To do this, parts of a program that contained a complete idea, suitably relevant for graphic representation, were chosen for the five programs made by the two institutions jointly.

c) Others. Each participating community was given the supporting material necessary to develop and implement the Radiovisión programs during the training period. Each was responsible for:

- a tape recorder.
- Educational games and expressional material.
- Fotonovelas, and puppets.

Also, during each subsequent visit by the team, each community received a set of batteries (for the tape recorder), a blank tape to make their own recordings according to the interests or needs of the community, paper and pencils to make drawings that corresponded to their recordings, a pre-recorded program on a cassette tape and the respective posters.

With the exception of the batteries, all the material left in the community on one visit were picked up the next time and new material left.

3. The Training of the Monitors

A specific training technique was developed for Radiovisión. It was destined for use with those selected for the role of monitor -- that is, people who in the conception of nonformal education constitute a resource for teaching-learning within their own communities.

The objectives established for the training were:

a) to motivate change in the attitudes and in the behavior of the monitors;

b) to foster the creative capacity of the Ecuadorian campesino according to the interests of the community with the goal of making them capable of producing supporting materials, such as those used in the program, for their own needs;

c) to orient the peasant in conducting group meetings in order to make better use of the Radiovisión program;

d) to present demonstrations, the monitors develop dexterity in the handling of instruments and helping aids.

Considering that there were eight communities represented, and that there were only five tape recorders available, it was decided, after talking with the monitors, that a tape recorder would be shared between communities in close proximity and who recognized the same leader. To avoid complications, they would be referred to in this document as simply "the community."

If the tape recorder belonged to the community, it was necessary for the sake of administrative expediency to name a person responsible for it to Education Technology. The responsibility would be rotated among the monitors of the same community so that all could learn to handle it well during training. This systematic transference of responsibilities was programmed on the basis that the members of the team would be more dedicated if they knew that "one day" each would be responsible for a good program. Another reason would be to avoid the "appropriation" of the tape recorder by one of them just because he had it in his possession "too long."

4. Follow-Up and Evaluation

In order to unify the answers obtained with each of the five programs presented, a questionnaire of follow-up and evaluation was designed by the Project team which was to be filled out by the persons who carried out the visits to the communities. Later, they would exchange experiences with the

The questionnaire attempted to cover the following areas: instruments of the program (reunions, tape recorders, posters and recordings): educational games and expressional materials; community reactions and the benefits and problems encountered.

These two activities were developed simultaneously without any problems or overlap because it was possible to complete the development of the "new program" (that with which they would work during the following weeks) and at the same time re-compile the information about the "old program" (the one just presented) --that is to say, partial evaluations were completed.

Before rushing into this extension called Radiovisión the program The Horn was submitted to pilot test (June, 1974) in the province of Chimborazo. Two different groups were selected with, one in the community of San Miguel and the other in Riobamba. The results obtained from these tests, applying the model of the "rumor clinic," coincided with the expected results and thus, with a high degree of hope, it was decided to begin this experience.

Another interesting aspect of this interchange was the cohesion between the group of monitors, demonstrated when they returned a few weeks later to reunite and share their personal experiences and those of their communities. These experiences helped their growth in the joint decision-making about certain aspects that they considered their responsibility, and in the development of a certain type of responsibility to themselves, their communities and to the Radiovisión program.

RESULTS

One part of the results obtained from Radiovisión supported the conclusions arrived at from the radio pilot tests; however, this type of program has another dimension--the visual.

It is worth clarifying that the results obtained from the pilot tests of the radio programs (entertainment series) carried great importance indirectly for the team that compiled them because, just by being experimental, the question period that followed the presentation of each program was, perhaps unconsciously, directed with the idea of reaching the proposed goals.

Radiovisión consists of two basic elements: a tape recording and posters of visual aid. With the tape recording alone, the results supported the suppositions proved before; but when the message is supported with visual aids, the perception levels of the participants rises. This is because it can be assumed that their attention was divided and the radio alone lost a little; but when they had before them a poster intimately related to the audio message, they could "imagine" what it dealt with.

It should be remembered also that the posters help the participants perceive the message visually, grasp the idea, maintain it, and commit it to memory. Later, the time passing between the first visual reception of the message and the moment of recall being of little importance, the content of the message can be reproduced instantly by bringing from memory the image that represents it.

The difference is much more evident if one looks at the following facts: When the team in charge of the radio pilot tests presented a specific program to a captive audience (8-10 persons) in a community, they applied a test model based on the "rumor clinic" to obtain the already supposed results. That is, it was a team working with a reality that they thought they knew.

When Radiovisión began, the outside influence of the participating institutions was present only indirectly, because after the monitors were selected, it was they who attended the training workshop designed specifically to develop communication skills in their community utilizing the diverse alternatives of nonformal education.

When the monitors returned to their communities, one of their responsibilities was to get the community together to present the Radiovisión programs and coordinate the discussions that arose, be they spontaneous or provoked by the analysis of each of the visual aids that accompanies the recording. Also, the follow-up visits made after the training were always directed by the monitors. The presentation of each program, and its analysis, were the responsibility of the monitor, who developed it from a reality s/he knew because s/he lived it.

The achievements obtained from the use of posters are not limited to analytical questions, but go further, from the questions to the reality situations of the participants. Still, the questioning is incipient and important, considering that these are the first "steps" towards integrating reflection with action.

In this respect it can be said that the question "why?" is one that arises among those who attend the reunions organized by the monitors. What it means is that the people do not expect a simply "because that is the way it is" as an answer. They expect to begin to talk and involved themselves in the interests and/or needs of the community. What remains to be done is to act, sooner or later. Today they do not go beyond words, or perhaps attitudes. But, one must begin somewhere. And it has begun.

The object of Radiovisión is to "give the campesino his/her voice," and this objective is being reached. Not only have they been given a series of five pre-recorded programs, but also their own creativity has been stimulated and they are making their own programs.

OBSERVATIONS

In retrospect, the following are some observations on the Radiovision experience, and also some suggestions for consideration in future development of this idea.

Primarily, one can see the convenience of changing the present model; not radically, but systematically. It should be changed gradually, maintaining the unity, coherence and interest of the program components, avoiding boredom or triteness.

These changes should be considered as needs arise, always taking into account past experiences. This way, for example, assuming the continuing use of the present model, it should be clearly explained that the follow-up visits are for exchanging ideas and not for assuming control. If evaluations are used,

it is preferred that they be written after the visit rather than in the presence of the monitors, as they may view this as a test to be passed.

Keeping in mind that the radio carries its message to the most remote places, commercial radio stations with a large rural audience could be utilized to broadcast programs. Of course these new programs would have to be produced in such a way as to interest the general as well as the captive audience.

This suggestion is based on the fact that the cost of disseminating the idea of radio/Radiovisión with tape recorders in a great number of centers would be enormous, and the fact that the message of radio/Radiovisión reaches everyone without distinction as to age, sex, occupation, educational level, etc.

With the present model (five tape recorders), the idea could be disseminated by suggesting that the monitors present the program in surrounding communities, moderating discussions and trying to get the people to participate in the production of new programs (news, items of interest, songs, etc.) with the idea of amplifying the focus of the teaching-learning relationship between the monitors, the funding institutions and the involved communities.

The follow-up visits should be conducted no less than four weeks apart to give the monitors more time to work with the program in the community and outside of it. This time would also make the data compiled about each program more reliable. In addition, it would avoid the problem of so little time between visits that the monitors are not allowed to present the program, which leads to false information given in order to have something to say.

For the immediate future, alternative uses for the tape recorders should be thought of, with two goals: 1) to lower the cost of production of materials; and 2) to provide incentive for the creativity of the campesino, to avoid possible disinterest that could develop. As alternatives, perhaps puppets, drawings made by the campesinos themselves, pantomine, etc., could be incorporated.

It has been suggested that the new edition of radio programs be made in a Regional Production Center, utilizing the tapes made by the monitors in their communities. This centralization would give unity and prevent any deterioration with respect to themes or aspects dealt with in the original recordings.

In attempting to avoid the use of a rigid format, it would be more practical to write scripts with a certain variety of formats. The visual aids should be modified, some by eliminating the graphic with shadows, which looks like a photograph. This could be replaced with a kind of schematic drawing, which is more easily identifiable by the viewer.

When the new programs are edited, perhaps they could be presented by the members of a community to the authorities of the area in order to initiate talk about the interests, needs and opinions of the community.

With the idea of working with five communities, five different programs could be produced (with the same format) which could be distributed at the same time. After a predetermined period of time they could be interchanged, after five exchanges the five programs would have been presented in all five communities. Between the beginning and the end of this package, partial and complete evaluations could be made.

To maintain and continue a program such as radio/Radiovisión, the full-time dedication of about three persons (minimum) is necessary. These would be in charge of giving form and context to the recordings destined for the countryside (writing scripts, editing, searching for new formats, etc.), making pilot tests and making partial and complete evaluations of the programs. The personnel in charge should have a basic knowledge of communication and educational curriculum.

OPEN TRANSMISSION RADIO PROGRAMS

Four advantages of radio as an effective means of communication in rural areas have been mentioned:

1. With the advent of the transistor, radio has presently the largest rural audience of any form of communication.
2. In economic terms, it has been proven that the use of radio for education has a favorable cost/benefit ratio.
3. The lack of communication that presently affects the rural population demonstrates how necessary it is for us to use the radio, one of the most effective tools of modern technology, to overcome this deficiency.
4. Finally, the range of radio should orient the messages of communication. This means that it is posaible to adapt the programs to local needs.

Observing the capability of the radio, by which messages arrive intact and simultaneously to a large audience covering a large area, be it the rural or urban sector, the Project programs were designed to be transmitted also by commercial radio channels.

The report of Roderigo Villacís on "Visits to Radio Stations of the Provinces" of January, 1975, demonstrates that the idea of educational broadcasting has at its disposal virtually all of the radio infraastructure.

## VISITS TO PROVINCIAL RADIO STATIONS

In the field testing of the radio programs, the Project made the decision to present the programs to captive audiences in campesino communities. The programs were to be broadcasted by way of stations operating in the rural sectors of Ecuador that had large rural audiences.

The radio stations would enable the Project to reach the general rural public. A limitation in using radio stations reaching large audiences was the inability to predict whether or not owners and managers of the radio stations would accept "La Revista del Campesino" programs -- designed for the rural sector of the Ecuadorean highlands.

Five radio stations were visited and presented with the Project programs between January 12 and 13, 1975. The stations were:

- La Voz del Valle of Machachi
- Radio Rey of Latacunga
- Nuevos Exitos of Salcedo
- Radio Colosal of Ambato
- Escuelas Radiofónicas Populares of Riobamba

The five radio stations operate in the areas of Project involvement. In our visits to each radio station we made an effort to find out information regarding the popularity and type of public reach by the stations.

RESULTS OF THE VISITS

A. "La Voz del Valle." HCCW 1.-1.040 kh. -0.7kw. - Machachi (pop. 7,186), province of Pichincha. - Station owner-Manager: Segundo Cueva. Calle García Moreno No. 534.

1. Owner's reaction very positive. Typical inhabitant of these small populations of the inter-Andean valleys, young and dynamic. He is enthusiastic about his work. He talked of the Indians who worked the fields with the traditional team of oxen and with a transistor radio perched on the yoke. He talked also of the cows that give more milk when the person who does the milking carries a radio!

2. According to him, the station covers a wide area -- almost the whole province, in spite of its low wattage. This he attributes to the location of the antennas.

3. He listened to one of the Project's programs and seemed interested. He said he would like to broadcast them during the prime listening hours, i.e. during the early morning, or around 7:00 p.m.

4. He told us that he would like to include in his programming, which already contains a high percentage of national music and the habitual "messages", some recorded series made by foreign embassies: "Facets" and "Science Today" for example. He reads the news from the daily newspapers of Quito, presenting them in the form of "informative bulletins."

5. He does not have a cassette tape recorder. The programs would have to be delivered on reel tapes.

B. "Radio Rey." -HCRRG.- 1.095 kh.-0.4 kw. - Latacunga (pop. 116,699) province of Cotopaxi. Station owner-manager: Victor Hugo Muñoz. Calle General Maldonado No. 1323.

1. The owner is an older man, immune to youthful enthusiasm. But he still accepted with pleasure the idea of including our programs in his broadcasting schedule. He listened attentively to the program and said that he would like to play one daily. He suggested we make packages of thirty programs, a complete month, in order to facilitate distribution.

B. "Radio Rey", cont'd.

2. Mr. Muñoz also gave us another idea: we could request the listeners' opinions of our programs, or their suggestions in relation to them. As a stimulus, they could be rewarded with copies of our fotonovelas.

3. This station is almost completely limited to broadcasting music, but the morning does include news read from the newspapers of the capital.

4. The station has equipment to reproduce tapes on cassette or reel machines.

C. Radio "Nuevos Exitos". HCCV6. -1.420 kh.-0.3 Kw.- Salcedo (pop. 37,280). province of Cotopaxi. Station owner-manager: Marcelo Abril. Calle García Moreno No. 37.

1. A very influential station in the rural sector. A high percentage of its income depends on transmitting "messages", which constitute a manner of communicating anything of interest to the campesinos, and social events.

2. According to Mr. Abril, campesinos who arrive in Salcedo frequently visit the station and listen to the music or take part in some of the live shows. Coincidentally, we can attest to this last assertion.

3. Mr. Abril listened to our programs and was satisfied. He said that this type of program is lacking in Ecuadorian radio. It "carries a little culture to the campesinos" and it "helps in the improvement of those who need it the most ..." He added that it would "be a pleasure" to broadcast the programs at the best time, which in his judgment is at 7:00 p.m.

4. It would not matter if the tapes came recorded on cassettes or reels.

D. "Radio Colosal" (ex-Espejo). -HC.-1.055kh.-0.5kw.-Ambato (pop. 191,807), province of Tungurahua. Station owner-manager: Ramón Salazar.

1. This is the most popular station in the city, but its audience is largely in the rural sector surrounding the center. The recent change of ownership could eventually mean some modification of the programs and better equipment.

D. "Radio Colosal", cont'd.

2. Mr. Salazar complains of diacrimination to which he is subjected by local business and publicity agencies, because of the social and economic level of his audience.

3. Mr. Salazar was not enthusiastic about our programs, but he did not object to their broadcast. He said clearly that there would be no problem and that he would give them a good hour to be heard.

4. Evidently he is interested in the commercial aspects of his business and not in the social issues. But he does not object to broadcasting programs like those made by U-Mass, if they are ready to use.

5. He talked about educational scripts sent to him a while ago by the Ministry of Education. He said those papers went directly to the archives because small radio stations generally do not have the personnel or the good will to produce this class of program. "But, if they gave them to us already made ...", he concluded.

E. "Escuelas Radiofónicas Populares". -HCERP. -5.015/91.7 Kh.-25/0.5 Kw. Riobamba (pop. 171,673), province of Chimborazo, Calle Velasco.

1. We are very interested in this radio station because it has a large, fairly stable and specifically peasant audience, and because we appreciate its efforts to help people.

2. However, Fr. Rubén Veloz, who is responsible for the station, explained to us at great length what our goals were before even listening to one of the programs in the series "La Revista del Campesino", and he did not then make any comments. He did state indirectly that he was disgusted by the fact that the programs were financed by foreign money.

3. However, perhaps out of courtesy, or else in order to end the talk gracefully, he asked us to send him the tapes with a copy of the scripts complete with a note explaining everything related to the general idea of the program, in order to "analyze them further."

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Judging from the results of these visits, it seems evident that, with the exception of a few stations, it is possible to count on virtually every radio station to broadcast our programs to the general public.
It seems in any case that it is important to mention the Ministry of Education when negotiating with the stations.

B. To enter into a systematic plan for large-scale distribution of this type of program, conceived as an aid to a more complex plan oriented to social change which involves collectively all the media of communication, it is necessary to organize a complete production team to continually provide tapes to the stations associated with the network of radio stations required to reach the target population.

C. This team should contain qualified script writers, social investigators and radio technicians.

D. It would be ideal if the peasants could produce their own programs. To achieve this, it would be necessary to train a select group of peasants in all the techniques of production.

# CHAPTER VIII

# INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

## PART I: RELATIONSHIPS WITH NONEDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

### I. Strategy

The basic rationale for working with noneducational institutions* was to decentralize and generalize educational opportunities. One of the premises of nonformal education (NFE) is the reintegration of education into daily life experiences. The Ministry of Education is becoming more and more the focus of educational opportunities in Ecuador, and consequently of educational certification. By disseminating both the opportunities and the certification process, NFE makes them available to a wider range of individuals and brings the creative capacity and financial resources of nonprofessionals to bear on the educational problems of the country. By extending educational experiences to environments not generally considered "educational", NFE attempts to increase the efficiency of the overall educational effort. Obvious examples include cooperatives, on-the-job training, social groups; still more interesting examples include hospital lobbies, doctors' waiting rooms, the marketplace, government offices, etc. The amount of idle time spent in such environments is enormous. For illiterate populations, even magazines are not an educational option. One of the Project's tasks was to design educational materials which could function in such environments.

One way of approaching the problem was through a Nonformal Resource Center and idea exchange. As initially conceived by the Massachusetts team, this meant little more than an office, with a crew of Ecuadorians with new ideas who were independent of any single institutional control. The Center's team would be educational process experts. They would not necessarily have the content information to design educational materials, but rather would use content experts when needed as consultants. The team would serve the widest variety of individual and institutional needs, helping create new educational processes using local as well as international ideas.

Physically, the Center might have a few design tables, a small materials library where clients could get an idea of various

*Institutions whose primary goals are not specifically educational. Most government ministries (except the Ministry of Education dealt with in Part II), cooperative groups, social clubs, and the domestic service corps qualify under this definition.



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possibilities; a conference-seminar room for small meetings, and a telephone. Services would be wide-ranging. Some clients might want full-scale training programs for their personnel in educational process design; others might require little more than a supportive environment and conversation with creative people. Materials could be designed for special purposes, or general materials loaned to clients. Seminars could be sponsored which would bring complementary institutions together to exchange ideas and to participate in creativity sessions during which they themselves would generate new ideas. In addition to creating new educational processes the Center could provide services which would help an individual evaluate the effectiveness of those processes. Games have been mentioned, but radio program production, fotonovelas, group dynamics, programmed processes, learning packages, could all be offered to meet the widest range of needs. The Center would be something more than a coffee-house/library, and something less than a training institute. It would be a workshop, a supportive environment open to innovation and imagination. This Center would be independent in the sense that the Center personnel would be responsible equally to all their clients. They might receive funds in any one of a number of ways: private contributions, public donations, fees for services, etc. But by privately supported we meant internally free from outside institutional regulations and responsibilities.

After the first year of Project activity it became clear, however, that certain priorities would have to be established. Too many ideas were being discussed for major resources to be dedicated to each of them. One of the early victims was the full-scale effort to establish an independent resource exchange for nonformal ideas. The reason for this decision had nothing to do with the inherent worth of the idea, but rather with the socio-political situation as we saw it at that time. The number of powerful non-government education institutions in Ecuador was very limited, and the newly found oil wealth was being allocated principally to noneducational projects in the government.

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In order not to drop the resource center idea altogether, a compromise was reached. Instead of promoting a purely independent resource center, the Massachusetts Project would itself function, whenever possible, as such a center. The Project staff would maintain an open-door policy to any local individual or institutional initiative. But the effort required to establish an independent institution would be avoided. Word-of-mouth rather than advertising campaigns would be the promotional basis of the center; to the degree possible, training programs would be mounted and institutional exchanges promoted. Creativity and openness to innovation would be principal concerns. Yet these functions would have to coexist with large-scale commitments to materials development and testing, to collaboration with the Ministry of Education, and to the creation of the facilitator experiment.

II. Activities through Agencies

The Massachusetts office functioned as an idea exchange or resource center for anyone, or any institution, interested in non-formal education. No demands were made on individuals who desired copies of the Massachusetts materials. When a given institution or individual demonstrated interest after an initial introductory session, we were open to discussing more profound relationships -- training, seminars, material redesign, etc. Indeed, in a few cases, major training and introductory sessions were organized for a whole range of institutions. Various religious and military organizations received training, and private development groups and even government ministries also participated in these training efforts. While most were two- to three-day programs designed only to introduce the Massachusetts ideas, they required heavy staff time in terms of planning and in some instances follow-up.

We requested that individuals who used the materials get back to us with their comments on the results and suggestions for changes. In many cases, this feedback was never forthcoming. Consequently, we have little information, of even a subjective nature,

on the full impact of this form of materials distribution. As the Project's reputation grew, more and more requests were received internationally for copies of the materials. The Hacienda game was by far the most popular material, particularly among agencies receiving North American funding. In almost no instance did we receive any evaluative feedback from the international groups that requested the materials. This is unfortunate, but one of the risks which a free-flowing resource center takes.

With several local agencies, we were able to establish both a long-term and a free-flowing relationship. It is from these experiences that most of our evaluative information is drawn. The following section is simply a description of our activities with each of these institutions. The results of these activities are discussed later in the document.

A. Servicio Ecuatoriano de Voluntarios (SEV)

SEV is a local, privately funded (USAID has provided significant financial support) institution which offers the opportunity to young Ecuadorians to participate in the development of their country. SEV volunteers work in all major regions of the country as teachers and community development specialists.

Our first relationship with SEV was in the provinces of Tungurahua and Chimborazo, principally in the campesino high school at Colta Monjas. Rural SEV volunteers working as Adult Education teachers and/or community development specialists were trained in the use of the Massachusetts gaming materials. As a few of the SEV volunteers were initially opposed to any input from a North American institution such as the University of Massachusetts, many of the first conversations were purely political in nature. Several of the volunteers did request and utilize the games in their communities. Indeed, one or two of the volunteers became important resources to the Massachusetts project in later training efforts with the campesinos

One of SEV's most interesting projects is the formation of a campesino high school, the Colegio Sayausi in the Cuenca area.

All the students are campesinos and the school's firm commitment is to provide a secondary education for campesinos which will: 1) help them be more critical about their own lives; 2) provide them with relevant information which can be applied to their community problems; and 3) develop pride in being a campesino, and a commitment to returning to their communities. After several visits to the school it became clear to both the SEV and Massachusetts representatives that further exploration of ideas was warranted.

SEV's basic operating style was "conscientization through conceptualization." Campesino students spent long hours in classes discussing, or listening to critical thinking within the traditional school curriculum. The style of learning was little different from that in a formal classroom. The reliance on traditional curriculum was not the fault of the colegio directors, but rather due to regulations of the Ministry of Education. The school wanted to be able to offer its students a degree, and the degree depended upon Ministry certification requirements. This meant that among a variety of less-than-relevant courses which had to be offered, English was being taught to campesinos, many of whom could not write their native language of Quechua.

Our initial hope was not to change either the teaching style or the curriculum requirements in the formal classes, but rather to strengthen the informal activities of the colegio. One of the real strengths of the school was its utilization of leisure time for highly participatory conscientization activities, songs, theatres, work groups, etc. One part of our agreement with SEV included a provision that during the informal hours of the school's operation, students would be able to use the Massachusetts materials and that the school would produce and distribute in quantities the games which seemed to be most successful.

Second, we knew that the students returned to their communities during vacation time. We wanted to see if the games, after being introduced in the school, could be used by the students in their own communities. Were the games sufficiently attractive and easy to use

that students could play them in their home communities? SEV agreed to provide copies of the materials to each student to take back to their community and to report to us on the results.

Third, the directors of the colegio had recently signed a contract with the German church to fund a development project in which young teachers (not local campesinos) would be trained to play the broader role of community resource in ten rural communities around Sayausi. In addition to their traditional role, these rural teachers would be trained by SEV in basic health, agricultural and political information. Massachusetts agreed that they would receive training in how to use the Massachusetts materials, and that Massachusetts people would assist in the training process.

B. Ministry of Health

Our relationship with the Ministry of Health has been sporadic, directed toward two basic programs which they operate. The first program is health-oriented, designed to bring nutrition information to campesinos. During the first year of the Project, two nutrition games were designed and given to the Ministry for their experimentation. Intentionally the nutrition information in the games was unsophisticated and indeed inaccurate in some cases. Our hope was that the Ministry through its own nutrition experts would see the errors and make the necessary changes in the game. We hoped that they would therefore be more committed to the material. We pointed out to the Ministry representatives that nutrition was not our area of expertise, and that we would have to rely upon their judgment related to the kind of nutritional information to be transmitted. Initially great interest was expressed by the representatives. They took copies of the material for study.

The Ministry of Health, supported by USAID funding, also operates a family planning program. The Massachusetts team was ambivalent about the value of family planning, especially when it was implemented as essentially a contraceptive sales program. The rhetoric at the top planning levels stressed family decision-making and not

birth control as an ultimate goal. By the time the rhetoric got to the village level, however, it seemed to include less decision-making and more contraception. However, we agreed to a small scale experiment in which we would create and stage a series of three puppet shows concerned with family planning for three different levels of Ecuadorian society: top level professionals from the Ministry of Health; patients in an urban health center; and patients in a rural health center.

In each case, the puppet show and subsequent discussion was filmed as a professional film which could be used for training people interested in family planning. With the group of Ministry professionals, the puppets took the roles of campesinos being introduced for the first time to family planning. The puppets were the alter-egos, the unheard voice of campesinos: what the campesinos thought, but never said to the "expert." For the urban and rural patients, the idea was to provoke discussion about family planning, to pose situations in which the puppets interacted with the audiences, stimulating them to ask questions and to be critical about the family planning program. Our entire input on this project lasted about fifteen days.

C. Ministry of Defense

The Ecuadorian Ministry of Defense maintains several large-scale educational programs, particularly with new recruits, most of whom are illiterate. They were interested basically in the literacy materials which the Project had developed, and ways in which these materials could be integrated into the Ministry program. A series of meetings were held with representatives of the military to discuss the nonformal ideas and possible adaptations. The relationship culminated in a two-day training session for some twenty-five representatives of various educational units in the military. This training was designed to expose the representatives to the nonformal materials and to discuss in detail what a collaborative effort might look like.

D. Cooperatives

During the three years of Project activity, Massachusetts worked with several cooperative organizations. Cooperatives seemed a natural device for nonformal education, as each cooperative had an educational committee, which was typically inactive. The leaders of the cooperative felt that education was a priority, but were not sure how to activate these committees. The games seemed attractive, particularly the simulation games, which we adapted to specific cooperative problems. We applied basically the same strategy with the cooperative groups as we did with the Ministry of Health nutrition program. We did not pose as cooperative experts; rather, we created a rough-draft game which approximated the cooperative's problems, and we relied upon the cooperative experts to change the game to reflect more relevant and more realistic cooperative information.

One early cooperative effort was with FENACOOPARR, the AID-supported rice cooperative organization on the coast. This is the largest cooperative movement in the country, and it has dynamic leadership.

Our relationship was designed to use Adult Education teachers, paid for by FENACOOPARR cooperatives and provided by the Ministry of Education's Adult Education program, as the delivery vehicle for nonformal materials in the cooperatives. FENACOOPARR agreed to provide moral support in selected rice cooperatives, and pay part of the costs; the training was carried on by Massachusetts people. The teachers returned to their communities to work closely with the community-based rice cooperatives. Other smaller cooperative efforts were also undertaken. Our role was basically material resource consultants, as we would provide sample nonformal materials to interested individuals for their experimentation and adaptation. Most of these individuals did not report to us on their experiences, and contact was eventually lost with these communities as the Project became more heavily involved in the Ministry of Education program in the Sierra.

E. Others

Before moving on to the results of these efforts, it should be stressed once again that a large number of individuals wandered into the office and took away with them copies of the nonformal materials. Individual Peace Corps volunteers would often drop by to talk with us, and take materials back to their communities. Adult Education teachers would drop in to discuss with us the Project, and they would take materials with them when they left. Brazilians, Peruvians, Panamanians, AID officials from other Latin American countries, and representatives from a variety of international development organizations stopped in for briefings. Ecuadorian university students and professors as well as members of various Ecuadorian Ministries including Agriculture and the National Information Service made brief visits. Most visitors were motivated by curiosity; most came because they had heard something about "games", particularly Hacienda. All left with copies of the materials, and our commitment to follow up on any specific proposal for cooperation.

III. Results

In order to discuss the results of these efforts by the Massachusetts team, it is first necessary to reiterate our aims.

Our initial assumption was that if the games were attractive they would set off a chain reaction -- stimulate the native creative talents of institutions and individuals, and consequently multiply notably the number of nonformal materials. We hoped to stimulate the creation of an independent Resource and Idea Exchange, which would provide continued stimulus to NFE across a broad spectrum of individuals and institutions.

Our second aim was to adopt a low-profile approach with non-educational institutions, and consequently measure the inherent attractiveness of the materials we were designing. We did not want our identification as a North American institution to unduly influence individuals interested in nonformal ideas.

The results of the second task were generally very encouraging. Training costs were often financed, or training materials were

made available free to cooperating institutions. But in no case did the financial rewards reach a stage in which the cooperating institutions became dependent upon Massachusetts funding. In fact, Massachusetts became known as one of the stingiest of USAID's programs. It can be modestly claimed that the initial interest demonstrated by the majority of cooperating institutions relied heavily upon the novelty and the attractiveness of the materials themselves, as determined by the cooperating institutions.

Unfortunately, as pressure grew on the Massachusetts people to show results, the willingness to violate our own non-financing principles and make small financial arrangements with cooperating institutions also grew. In the case of SEV, for example, the salary of one SEV volunteer was paid by Massachusetts so that he could coordinate that institution's nonformal program.

The results of our first task, the attempt to establish a privately supported resources exchange, were less rewarding. Evaluation data collected on the SEV experience showed clearly that both students and teachers enjoyed using the games and did, in fact, use them frequently. However, teachers especially were concerned because the games "appeared to stress North American 'Yankee' values of competition" which some teachers felt were inappropriate. As the SEV teachers were fully aware of who was funding the games project, it is difficult to know if their attitude was due to the inherent nature of the games or to their prejudices about USAID. More significant was the fact that, with few exceptions, neither teachers nor students were able to say that they perceived any learning had taken place after playing the games several times. Finally, it should be pointed out that several <u>new</u> games were produced during the course of this experiment. But unfortunately for the overall objectives of the program, the SEV people never considered using the games on a broader scale than in the <u>colegio</u> and its projects. While it proved possible to produce new materials, the idea did not expand to include an idea-exchange <u>between</u> institutions.

It is possible that the Ministry of Defense might yet pick up on gaming techniques, but it is unclear as to what end they would use the materials. In the end, even the leadership of FENACOOPARR seemed to the Massachusetts team to be more committed to possible financial gain from an association with Massachusetts than to the benefits of nonformal education. And for all of those individuals who wandered into the office but who never reported back, we are unable to judge, even subjectively, the impact of their efforts.

What did prove to be true in almost every case was the high initial interest (surprise and fascination) with the nonformal materials when they were presented. Everyone seemed to agree intellectually that these were dynamic ideas. But the ideas took root in only a few institutions, or quasi-institutional settings. No nonformal materials exchange was ever established or discussed unless AID funding was attached. In sum, it seems fair to say that the idea of an independent resource and idea exchange did not take root as a result of our effort.

## IV. Some Explanations of these Results

Reasons are always an uncertain proposition. At best we can propose some possible areas for further investigation. It is probably that with a more concerted effort on our part the resource exchange idea could have been made to work. It was a conscious decision to make this a low-priority effort during the second two years of the Project, and we realized that the probability of its becoming a major success was low. We wanted to test the capacity of the idea to take hold without major input on our part. Consequently these results might be attributed as much to our decision to make it low-priority as to any inherent worthlessness of the idea. This said, let us proceed to look at some other possible explanation as to why the low-profile approach did not work as well as we might have hoped.

A. Limited Experimentation

A successful resource center and idea exchange requires an existent reservoir of new ideas. Our first survey of existing non-formal programs in Ecuador showed us that the range of ideas was very limited. Most institutions were involved in either paternalistic distribution programs or in community development motivational efforts. Little or no new experimentation was taking place. Consequently, when different agencies got together they had essentially the same experiences to share. This made it difficult for a real exchange to take place. Rather than a bridge between the ideas of other institutions, the Massachusetts Project became a generator of new ideas. The relationships which were established through the open-door policy were almost always two-way relationships between Massachusetts and the cooperating institution. Rarely did two cooperating institutions get together on their own. There were other contributing factors to this two-way relationship. Institutions tended to focus on educational content and felt they didn't have too much in common with each other. Nutrition institutions were not very interested in family planning, literacy, or cooperative programs, for example. Institutional jealousy also played a role, as did political orientation. Certain people who were try ng out new ideas were reluctant to share those ideas with local institutions they saw as domesticating and oppressive. But perhaps most important was simply the scarsity of experimentation, of new programs and ideas to be shared.

B. Limited Technological Resources

Another possible answer is that resource centers need an environment in which technical and human resources are available in abundance. Such ideas work in the United States, for example, because

printing costs are low, the population is highly literate, publicity technology is capable of selling almost anything, and the idea coincides with a national mood of a return to self-determination and self-reliance. Aside from an educational success, many independent resource centers were financially successful. Part of that success was undoubtedly due to a large reservoir of creative talent which had been unleashed by the youth movements in the 'sixties. These human and technological resources were simply not available in Ecuador.

C. Limited Confidence in Game Production

Institutions were largely looking for quick and easy solutions to long and difficult problems. Initially the gaming materials seemed to be such a solution, but it soon became apparent that games were easier to play than to create. In fact, most institutions never seriously considered that they themselves would create educational games. It seemed only natural that the Massachusetts team could simply provide the games that the institution needed. This was true even though most of our effort was directed at providing only examples of games, most of which were either not directly related to the institution's content interests, or were so unsophisticated in terms of content as to make major institutional participation essential. A simulation game such as Hacienda or Cooperativa or La Comida is fun to play, but it appears to be complex to design. The number of game cards, the rules, the visual representations, the interaction processes, seemed very complicated to individuals who had had no experience in game design. And, more important, they seemed to require skills in which Ecuadorians were not interested.

The fact is that game design does require special skills -- not any more complex perhaps than designing a fotonovela or writing a curriculum guide, but for individuals without experience they seem much more difficult. The Massachusetts team never developed a truly effective way of transmitting the process of game design, and this must undoubtedly take its place as one of the reasons the resource center did not function as we hoped it would.

The resource center idea remains a possible alternative for promoting nonformal education in Ecuador. However, it appears at this point that it is up against a lot of obstacles. The establishment of a privately supported resource center remains the ideal, from a nonformal point of view, because it would be free to service the widest variety of educational needs in the country. But a privately supported center does not seem a realistic alternative in a situation in which both the idea pool and the technological limitations make financial success doubtful. To be truly effective the institution should be Ecuadorian, and there seems little market for such services at this moment. The establishment of a resource center with a single Ministry is a compromise solution which could have real payoffs.

The Ministry-centered resource center could avoid a number of problems encountered by the Massachusetts Project's attempt to establish a completely independent resource center: 1) the clientele would be guaranteed; 2) financial resources would be available on a long-term basis; and 3) investment in personnel training would have a greater likelihood of long-term payoff.

Naturally there are risks, from a purely nonformal point of view, in the operation of a resource center within the context of a single Ministry. It is possible that the weight of the formal system would simply absorb the nonformal mini-system, transforming it into another arm of the formal system. It is also difficult for this kind of Center to service individuals not connected with the particular Ministry involved, and consequently valuable resources are necessarily excluded from the Center's repertoire. Any systematizing tends toward conservatism, following the first throes of creative development. This tendency is exaggerated in a public institution, and this center could succumb to such conservatism after the first few years of operation. In order to understand more clearly the ramifications of a Ministry-based resource exchange, it is necessary to understand the relationship which the University of Massachusetts Project developed with the Ministry of Education.

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## PART II: COOPERATION WITH THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

### I. Cooperation Strategy and Objectives

During the initial survey of Ecuadorian nonformal institutions conducted by the University of Massachusetts, the Adult Education Department of the Ministry of Education (MOE) proved to be one of the institutions with an extensive outreach program to rural communities. A network of more than 500 Adult Education Centers were offering evening classes to interested adults around the country. Literacy was the primary focus of these Centers. Teachers were either regular daytime teachers who worked an additional two hours each evening for the Adult Education Department, or normal school graduates unable to find full-time employment within the Ministry and consequently teaching a few hours in the evening to supplement their incomes. About 30% of the Adult Education Centers were sponsored by private organizations which provided teacher salaries and a few basic materials. These Centers were certified through the Adult Education Department, but received little additional support from the Ministry.

In most cases Adult Education teachers had received no specialized training but were normal school graduates applying the principles of schooling to adult education. UNESCO at this time was completing a pilot study of Functional Literacy, theoretically to be a model for future Ministry planning. Due to a number of problems, however, the Ministry decided to reject the UNESCO program and was looking for another approach to Adult Education.

The Ministry's central concern was the high drop-out rate among rural adult participants. The Ministry wanted a program which would be both educationally sound and attractive to rural peoples. In discussions with professionals who had worked for years in Adult Education, it became clear that two factors were contributing significantly to the high drop-out rate:

1) The nature of the teacher-student relationship.

Because Adult Education teachers had received no specialized training

for their jobs, they were applying a vertical schooling model to rural adults. This vertical relationship was humiliating to adults, who were unaccustomed to being treated as children. Classes in the evening with adults looked very much like classes during the day with children. The blackboard was the principal educational tool, and the teacher the center of all educational activity. Emphasis was placed on rote memory, frequently memorization of the same lesson the teacher had used in the formal classroom. Discipline remained a high priority for the teacher, frustrated and worn out by the noise of energetic children during the day. Rarely was the teacher a member of the community where s/he was working. Most often teachers had little or no experience in rural living, and saw their teaching job as a sacrifice made for the benefit of these "ignorant" peasants. This meant that many were condescending and paternalistic, and often even blatantly arrogant and self-righteous.

It should be noted here that the conditions under which most of these teachers functioned did indeed constitute a sacrifice. Many of them had gone for months without receiving the salaries which can be classified as little more than volunteer pay. Some were literally dependent on the charity of the community for their subsistence. Support from supervisors was sporadic and more often threatening than supportive. The major incentive of Adult Education teachers would be the hope of becoming permanent daytime teachers of the Ministry, after which job security was a reality and job advancement a practical possibility. Adult Education was the most practical door into the formal system.

2) Lack of practical benefits.

Even though educational certification had a powerful attraction for rural peoples, most campesinos were unwilling to submit themselves to an alienating school model for the long periods of time necessary to achieve educational payoffs. This lack of immediate payoff was the second major factor contributing to high drop-out rates. Adult Education is not only a sacrifice for the Adult Education teacher, but for the adult learner as well.

S/he is asked to study several hours each evening after long hours of physical work during the day. Even though literacy has a high status among rural Ecuadorians, it has little practical value, as there is no one to whom campesinos can write, nor anything for campesinos to read. (Newspapers do not reach the rural areas of the country.) Literacy of itself does not justify the time and energy required by the Adult Education curriculum, and the campesino soon comes to recognize this fact. For short periods of time a sacrifice may be justified if there are concrete rewards; but over a period of several years, the adult learner begins to ask him/herself, "Is it all worth it?"

As one way of addressing itself to these problems, the Ministry of Education agreed to support a program of materials development in which the University of Massachusetts was to assist in the creation of a series of new materials which would a) support the newly trained teacher in altering the rigid classroom-like structure; b) be attractive to adult learners; and d) provide more immediate and more relevant educational payoffs. These materials were to be used as support materials for the ongoing program of Adult Education in the country.

The Massachusetts Project was to have two counterpart Departments within the Ministry: The Department of Adult Education, which coordinated the entire Adult Education program; and SENARED, the National Audio-Visual Service which was responsible for materials production within the Ministry. The nature of both of these counterparts changed during the course of the three years of the Project. The Adult Education Department underwent two major reorganizations, and SENARED grew from a small, library-oriented institution into the central materials production unit in the Ministry. As a result of these changes, the Massachusetts mandate also changed. During the last year of work, the Massachusetts Team was equally concerned with training designs and with materials production. What follows is a brief recounting of this development. The cooperation activities are divided into SENARED-related and Department of Adult Education-related activities and within those contexts described as they took place

sequentially. It should be noted that division is often arbitrary, as many of the activities overlapped.

## II. History of Cooperation Activities

### A. SERVICIO NACIONAL DE RECURSOS DIDACTICOS - SENARED

In 1971, the materials production capacity of the Ministry of Education was dispersed among several departments. A printing department handled most of the formal system's administrative forms which had to be produced on a national scale. The Department of Adult Education maintained and operated a large print shop and materials design section. The Textbook Department was still another materials production unit, and a number of other smaller production units existed within the Ministry as well. For the most part this meant duplication of tasks, and even of equipment. In 1972, the Ministry created SENARED as an attempt to begin the centralization of these production facilities and personnel. Before moving directly into centralization, however, the Ministry was concerned that SENARED should gain some experience in both the design and production of educational materials. From the beginning the mandate was to serve all areas of the Ministry, both the formal schooling system and the new out-of-school system then being discussed.

Significant assistance from USAID was forthcoming, particularly in the areas of equipment purchase and the establishment of the first national film library. A series of library courses were organized and directed by SENARED and the establishment of a series of regional materials resource centers was discussed as one way in which SENARED could begin to provide services directly at the provincial level. These resource centers were to contain a small book library, have rotating access to the central film library, and operate a small workshop where blackboards, flannel boards and other simple classroom equipment could be produced. These centers would be financed for the most part through provincial funds, SENARED providing technical support and access to new materials.

Through USAID, the Massachusetts team began a series of conversations with the Director of SENARED to determine if nonformal concepts would be of any use to the newly established department. Senared's Director was very interested in rural education, and in particular in establishing some means of servicing the rural areas of the country. The problem was how to reach those areas. SENARED maintained no field staff; they were essentially a technical assistance unit. It became clear, however, that if SENARED could begin to produce materials which were applicable to the nonformal setting, as well as the formal setting, they could become an important element in the overall strategy to introduce nonformal ideas. The seeds for future collaboration were planted in these meetings. SENARED was to become the major designer and producer of nonformal materials in the Ministry; it was to develop a pilot program in regional materials production, and a pilot program in rural radio education, as well as resource centers.

1. Regional Materials Production: The Sierra

The first major agreement reached between the Massachusetts and SENARED teams was for the production of the gaming materials to be used by the Department of Adult Education in an eight-province nonformal experiment to be conducted in the Sierra. This was the first chance SENARED had to prove its materials production capacity on a large scale. The decision was made to use SENARED rather than the Adult Education Department for several reasons. 1) The Department's equipment was working full-time producing the other materials needed for the new literacy method. 2) If SENARED was to become an effective materials production unit they needed experience. 3) It seemed to make sense to diffuse the nonformal concepts in several different Ministerial Departments rather than focusing all the effort in only one department.

USAID agreed to finance the production of 500 copies of six educational games through the auspices of SENARED. The production of Hacienda alone was a major task, requiring the mass production of a game board, 60 different game cards, 15 property cards, numbered dice

and play money. The collating job alone was enormous, considering that SENARED had a staff of five people. The materials for the Sierra experiment were not ready in time; in fact they were several months late. All of the blame cannot be placed upon SENARED's staff, however. This was the first mass production of gaming materials in Ecuador and there were many factors that were overlooked by the combined personnel of SENARED, Massachusetts Project, and the Adult Education Department. Printing shops refused to work without advances, and USAID was able to advance funds only at a limited level. Design work on the games was often late in arriving at the production unit. Changes were made at the last minute; and consultation between three institutions (Massachusetts, SENARED, and the Department of Adult Education) required more time than expected. But this experience was an invaluable learning experience for all concerned. SENARED could not have grown so quickly in professional capacity without this trial by fire.

2. Regional Resource Centers

The close working relationship established between the SENARED and Massachusetts staffs during the Sierra experiment was the basis for an extension of the collaborative effort. SENARED had created four regional resource centers in the provinces of Cotopaxi, Imbabura, Chimborazo and Tunguragua. Each center had a small staff, mostly school teachers who had special talents such as carpentery, administrators and/or artists. In some cases the centers were extensions of previous workshop groups of interested and talented teachers. SENARED was interested both in providing training to the personnel of these centers and in finding some way in which these centers could serve the rural areas, as well as the urban schools which were their principal clients. Massachusetts agreed to help design and carry out a training program which would bring campesinos from communities surrounding the regional centers together with the personnel of those centers and prepare them: 1) to work together as colleagues; and 2) to be responsible for a technical specialty in materials production. These campesinos would

be the nucleus of a rural demand system which would require SENARED's services just as the schools were beginning to require those services.

A parenthesis here is perhaps appropriate. It should be made clear to the reader that materials development was a relatively new idea to most Ecuadorian teachers. Normally teachers were expected to provide their own materials. Schools were generally equipped with a blackboard, but the teacher often bought the chalk out of his/her pocket. There were many naturally creative teachers with sufficient initiative to produce imaginative and very useful visual aids; but most teachers saw educational materials as an extravagance beyond their capacity. SENARED was unable, for the most part, to offer free materials; the mandate was not to supply materials, but to design materials which teachers could use. Only in the case of the experimental Massachusetts materials (financed by USAID) were teachers given free a variety of new educational aids. SENARED faced a tough job in convincing teachers that educational materials were sufficiently important to justify the time, energy, and money which would be required to create and use them.

If the creation of a demand system for educational materials was difficult among formal school teachers, it presented different but equally challenging problems among campesino educators. While these individuals were not hampered by the years of disappointing experiences within the formal system, they were limited by their lack of models for their new roles.

The training design that was finally developed for the personnel and campesinos of the regional resource centers took these problems into consideration. It was one of the first multi-cultural (mestizo/professional-teachers/rural-peasant) training courses offered by the Ministry. Previously, teachers and campesinos had been trained in separate courses. Because it was expected that campesinos and teachers would work together, they were also trained together in this seminar.

was a success. After initial resistance on the part of both groups, a series of specially designed exercises coupled with the goodwill of all participants worked to bring the group to a close working relationship. After the training, participants returned to their centers and communities to begin the job of introducing and implementing the new ideas in their regions.

3. Regional Materials Production: The Coast

The third major collaborative effort between Massachusetts and SENARED involved the production of the gaming materials necessary to support the large-scale experiment to be conducted in six provinces of the coast. Even though there were fewer provinces in this experiment, there were more participants, due to the larger number of Adult Education Centers in the coastal provinces. This meant in some cases producing twice as many materials in the same amount of time as the previous year. But experience was to pay off. First, SENARED set reasonable production schedules rather than making wild commitments that they would be unable to complete. Secondly, their contacts with printers, their understanding of the problems, and an increased number of people working on the project all contributed to the completion of the materials on schedule. To a large degree these materials were similar to those produced the year before, but some changes did have to be made in order to be used in the coastal rather than the Sierra environment. Hacienda products had to be changed, a new game board designed which was slightly larger and used different colors, new Hacienda cards, etc. In all respects this redesign process was a collaborative effort among the staffs of SENARED, Massachusetts and the Department of Adult Education. It went smoothly and effectively.

One of the things learned from the first year's experiment was that one copy of the materials was not enough to give each teacher. Consequently, on the coast, teachers received three copies of each game, packed in two specially prepared plastic bags. These bags became something of a symbol of participation in the nonformal

project and a status object for teachers who had not previously received such attractive educational materials.

4. Radiovision

SENARED's Director had been interested in the application of educational technology to the problems of rural education from SENARED's initiation. SENARED was now in a position to embark on such an experiment. They were already producing the country's first educational T.V. series designed to complement the high school curriculum. Television was obviously not an alternative in rural areas without electricity, but radio seemed a logical alternative. SENARED's Director was aware of several international experiments which had combined specially created radio programs with flip-charts of visuals designed to accompany the audio message. Rural monitors would direct the synchronization of visual and audio messages and later conduct discussions in the community on the program's relevance.

Massachusetts had been producing a series of short radio programs directed largely at increasing critical consciousness, and had used cassette tape recorders as one way of allowing the campesino to transform radio from a one-way to a two-way means of communication. The decision was made to design and carry through a small-scale pilot experiment combining all these elements. The details of that experiment are outlined in the chapter on Mass Communication, but stress should be placed here on the collaboration between the Massachusetts and SENARED staffs in the creation and implementation of this program. This was the final and perhaps the most sophisticated collaborative effort between the two institutions, and it was the effort which showed most clearly SENARED's commitment to rural education.

With the restructuring of the Ministry of Education, SENARED was transformed into the Department of Educational Technology (TE). Finally, SENARED had realized the goal established for it three years earlier. With an enormously increased staff, from the initial seven to almost sixty persons, T. E. now has artists, designers, radio specialists, T. V. specialists, and administrators. The text book department was incorpirated into T. E., as was the equipment and much of the staff

of the Adult Education Department. T. E. was now the central materials production unit in the Ministry of Education, producing material and programs to serve both the formal and nonformal systems within the Ministry of Education.

B. ADULT EDUCATION DEPARTMENT PROJECTS

1. Los Rios The first major project with the Adult Education Department came about through Massachusetts' interests in exploring cooperatives as a possible nonformal distribution network. In the province of Los Rios, the Federation of Rice Cooperatives agreed to allow the Massachusetts Project to use the Adult Education Centers sponsored by their cooperative movement as test centers for new materials. This meant that a close relationship with the provincial Adult Education supervisor would be established. As the program progressed, Massachusetts' relationship with the Adult Education Department became closer than that with the cooperative movement. Thirty-nine Adult Education teachers were trained in the use of the experimental gaming materials. Several innovations which were tried in this experiment are described in more detail in James Hoxeng's book, Let Jorge Do It (pp. 41-45). As Hoxeng says when speaking about the results of the Los Rios program, "reality is effectively masked by the necessities of bureaucratic survival." The experience proved to be valuable for the Project staff in understanding the Adult Education teachers' problems at the grass-roots level. It also became clear that gaming materials and the human relations style of training were very attractive to the Adult Education teachers, but statistical information on their effectiveness in the field was compromised by the bureaucratic necessities of justifying one's activities as a success. This was to prove a difficult issue throughout the remainder of our cooperation with the Ministry.

2. The Sierra On the basis of the Los Rios experience, it was decided to negotiate a multi-province training program and materials development effort for 1973-74. The first step in this process was

to get the support of the Sub-Secretary of Education. A full-scale presentation of the Project's first year's activities was given in a local hotel using audio-visual aids, demonstrations, and a conversational format. Representatives of different departments in the Ministry were invited to attend, along with representatives of USAID. The impact of the presentation was very positive and formed the basis for our following negotiations.

Simultaneously with the Project's experiment in Los Rios, the Department of Adult Education was undergoing substantive administrative and philosophical changes. A new director had been named who had worked as an expert with UNESCO and who had access to a number of international educational innovations. He was a dynamic man determined to transform the Department of Adult Education into one of the most dedicated branches of the Ministry. He saw the Department's job in almost messianic terms, with the responsibility not only to eradicate illiteracy, but also to bring the rural masses into the mainstream of Ecuadorian life. This change of emphasis within the Department corresponded to a change in national politics. Emphasis was being given to consciousness-raising as a national goal, and the incorporation of the rural population into the national life.

The newly organized Department of Adult Education was developing a new literacy method for Ecuador (the Psycho-Social method)which relied heavily on "dialogue" (a question and answer format emphasizing critical thinking about local problems.) The method used specially prepared photographic posters, of typical scenes from the daily lives of rural people. The Adult Education teacher's job was to "de-code" these posters (questioning the participants as to the relationship and meaning of these scenes to their own lives.) After an initial phase of pure consciousness-raising, the participants began to "de-code" key words which they learned to read and write and which formed the building blocks for their continued literacy growth.

The materials being developed by the Massachusetts Project seemed to provide an appropriate complement to the Psycho-Social method. The new Adult Education Director was very interested in producing these materials on a large scale and using them experimentally

along with the new literacy method. The Psycho-Social method was to be introduced first in eight provinces of the Ecuadorian Sierra. Provincial supervisors were to be presented with the method and their opinions solicited. Provincial training seminars were to be organized in which Adult Education teachers would receive two weeks of specialized training in the use of the method and of the Massachusetts materials.

The first phase in this effort included adapting the Massachusetts materials to the needs of the Psycho-Social method. For example, a set of letter dice had been developed by Massachusetts. The Ministry program was based on syllables and it was only logical to adapt the letter dice to syllable dice. The major simulation game, Hacienda, was also adapted to both the mass production needs of the project and to the specific cultural environment where the game would be applied. For the first time, the hand-made Massachusetts version was transformed into a silk-screened playing board and printed game components. There were no major changes in the game format at this stage. How the games were to be used was also at issue. Massachusetts had never used written rules for any of the gaming materials, as rules contradicted the concept of nonformal materials. The Massachusetts team felt that the participants should not be tied to imposed rules, but free to use a basically sound material in a variety of ways. Indeed this approach had proved very successful with rural farmers, who saw no need for any rules, relied on their own experience, and were very creative in making valuable changes in the games. Within the Ministry, however, this idea seemed a little too fluid. Top-level professionals insisted that teachers were accustomed to and needed teaching guides; that without such guides they would not use a given material. Furthermore, the suggested style for these guides was dry, didactic, step-by-step rigid instructions on the why and how of the material.

After a series of negotiations between the two points of view, a teaching guide with a new format was designed. Instead of much printed instruction and rigid formulas, the guide was designed as a stimulus to change and use the materials as the teacher saw fit.

Suggestions were given on how a given material might be used in different situations, but constant reference was made to the individual creativity of the teacher. Drawings and child-like printing gave the publication visual novelty. This idea worked well during the training, as the teachers began to see that they were being asked to participate and not being treated as receptors of others' ideas.

Another major part of this adaptation process was the production by the Ministry of Education of the first Ministerial fotonovela. Interest was very high among Ministry professionals in the possibilities of such a publication. Its slickness, attractiveness, and basically vertical approach to learning was very appealing to Ministry people interested in producing tangible and at the same time innovative results. The head of the Massachusetts fotonovela effort agreed to train Ministry personnel in the production process of a fotonovela. This effort is described in more detail in the section on the fotonovela; suffice it to say here that this was one of the most important collaborative efforts undertaken by the Massachusetts team. These skills were practically nonexistent in Ecuador until the Massachusetts Project developed them through the experimental fotonovela project. Then they were turned over to the national institution which had sponsored and supported the program from its initiation.

The next step in implementing this first-phase experiment was the actual teacher training, which took place in eight provinces of the Sierra in which 376 teachers were trained.

In each case the training site was the provincial capital. Various training teams were formed, with mixed Ministry and Massachusetts personnel. The training lasted two weeks in each province. One week was dedicated to the theoretical basis for the Psycho-Social method, and the second week to practice in using the new method and the new materials.

Due to scheduling difficulties a major problem resulted when it became clear that the materials would not be ready for distribution until several months after the training took place. This post-training

distribution was poorly handled. Many teachers who were trained never received any materials at all; and others who had not been trained received the materials but did not know how to use them. The time lag between training and material distribution seriously affected the success of the first effort. Also, two different training styles were juxtaposed during the Sierra training. One, carried through by the Ministry trainers, stressed information transfer while the second, conducted by Massachusetts, stressed participation.

Once again it became necessary to rely on anecdotal evaluation information. The evaluation design which had been developed as an integral part of the second year's program did not work when a reorganization of the Ministry did away with the Department's evaluation personnel. On the basis of several visits to various provinces, and conversations with Adult Education teachers who had been trained, changes were made in the training model. Extensive cuts were made in the number of training areas covered, and more emphasis was given to practice in the use of the photographic posters and the gaming materials. A firm decision was made not to do future materials training until the actual materials could be turned over to the teachers during the training sessions.

Perhaps one of the most important results of this first effort was what the trainers learned in regard to the real problems confronting the Adult Education teachers. Particularly for the Massachusetts team, it proved invaluable to see the daily pressures under which an Adult Education teacher operated. The inherent contradiction in asking a teacher to behave horizontally toward his/her students when s/he is poorly trained, under-paid and poorly supported seemed almost overwhelming.

3. Biblio-Bus Project/The Education Fair

The Department of Adult Education operates two "Biblio-buses", or mobile library units. These mobile units operated principally in the urban areas of the country and were equipped with a power generator, film projector, slide projector, sound system, and

a collection of books. It seemed like an ideal instrument around which to organize an "educational fair" designed to stimulate community interest in education, to support the local Adult Education teacher, and to test the acceptability of several educational innovations. A team was organized, made up of Massachusetts and Adult Education Department personnel, and a schedule drawn of communities to be visited. Puppets, rural theater, a rural newspaper and educational games were to be added to the Bibliobus repertoire. An advance man would precede visits to the community in order to inform the teachers of the visit and to acquire his/her support. The visit itself lasted one and a half days, in which shows were put on for the entire community stressing the importance of education. During the day the bus personnel worked with the teacher, showing him/her how to use the new materials and putting on puppet shows for the school children. Evenings were dedicated to entire community performances. In each community a newsletter was published by a local leader and distributed to the community. Interest and participation were very high in every community. One interesting consequence was unforeseen, however. In one community the Bibliobus was stoned by local inhabitants of a very Catholic community, who thought the name "Biblio" referred to the Bible, and consequently that it was an evangelical group. The Bibliobus sign was covered up, and "Educational Fair" replaced it. The Bibliobus project proved to be one of the most interesting ways in which ongoing support could be provided for the entire community while providing in-service teacher training simultaneously.

4. The Coast The decision was made to build on the previous year's experience and try another large-scale experiment, this time on the coast of Ecuador. The coastal culture is entirely different from that of the Sierra, and this experiment required considerable redesign of materials to meet the new cultural setting and social problems. All five coastal provinces were to be used for the experiment.

Training had to be conducted during the vacation season when teachers would have two weeks free from classes. Participation was voluntary, but there were external incentives to participate, principally possible permanent assignment to Ministry payrolls. Participants would receive only a small per diem allowance, which would not, in fact, cover the costs of food and lodging in the provincial capital.

Initially it was planned that the Massachusetts and Adult Education Department trainers would work together as had been done the previous year. In fact, the Massachusetts trainers worked with the Ministry trainers for only a few hours and in only four provinces during this first phase. When it became obvious that the large number of materials needed would not be ready in time to distribute during training, it was agreed that the games training would take place three months after the Psycho-Social training. This would allow the materials to be given to the teachers directly. Ministry personnel would accompany the Massachusetts team during the second-stage materials training to help make a bridge between the two training efforts.

The first-stage training, conducted during vacation time, dealt with the literacy method alone. Less theory and more practice was emphasized. Participants had the opportunity to individually "de-code" the photographic posters, to discuss their meaning with trainers, and to deal with decoding problems as they presented themselves. But unfortunately, training style still stressed a vertical relationship with participants. Old habits are hard to break. In all, some 427 teachers were trained in this first stage.

Three months later the materials were ready for the second-stage training effort. This effort had two major objectives: 1) to introduce the gaming materials; and 2) to review the literacy method. The training team was composed of Massachusetts personnel accompanied by one or two Adult Education supervisors-trainers.

The University of Massachusetts team had extensive experience in human relations training, stressing motivational techniques

related to personal growth; self-confidence; creating a realistic self-image; and participatory interaction styles. These skills were organized in such a way that they provided a positive behavior model which the Adult Education teacher could apply in his/her own Adult Education Center. The first stage in this developmental process was for the teacher to see the contradiction between his/her self-image and his/her actual behavior. Most Adult Education teachers felt they were "friends, comrades" of the adult learners, and yet upon deeper analysis they came to realize that they saw the adult learner as inferior, as a person to be pitied and helped, or simply to be disliked.

This realization formed the basis for a radical change of attitude in which the teacher was able to see the problem and was interested in changing his/her own behavior. It was at this point, which took several intensive days of work to reach, that the teacher was ready for alternative behaviors to be presented, practiced, discussed and selected. This process also resulted in an unwillingness to accept the trainer's solutions as necessarily correct. For this reason the materials presented during these training sessions were always negotiated with the participants. Changes in materials were not only allowed, but were encouraged by the trainers. This was a radical departure from previous training programs in which participants had relied on authority figures to make their decisions.

The first problem encountered was that turn-over among the Adult Education teachers was so rapid that approximately one-third of the teachers participating in the second seminar did not participate in the first. This made it difficult to carry through the original plan of providing a review of the literacy method; for some individuals a full-scale training effort was necessary. Because sufficient time was not available for a full-scale training in the Psycho-Social method, emphasis was shifted from the review of the literacy method to the introduction of the support materials which were considered to be compatible with both the new and the old methods. Each teacher received at the end of training a packet of

materials which included:

3 copies of simulation game Hacienda
3 " " Syllable Dice
3 " " Syllable Cards
3 " " Number Dice
3 " " El Mercado
3 " " Bingo for Adding
3 " " Bingo for Multiplication
5 " " Four fotonovelas produced by Massachusetts
10 " " two fotonovelas produced by the Ministry.

During the last two weeks of materials training, the Ministry of Education underwent a major reorganization in the course of which the Department of Adult Education disappeared as an autonomous functioning unit. Until this reorganization took place, the Department had its own materials production unit with designers, artists, printing equipment, photographic equipment, etc; its own evaluation unit; its own administrative support personnel; its own payroll and budget. The Department was referred to facetiously by many as the "Ministry" of Adult Education. Such autonomy was incompatible with the new Ministerial structure, which stressed provincial rather than national responsibility. Adult Education teachers as a separate entity were disregarded and in their place a new single-session schooling schedule was announced which would make each and every teacher responsible for conducting Adult Education classes in his/her community.

The efforts of this reorganization have been to place major implementation responsibility for the nonformal program at the provincial level. The Adult Education Director will remain the principal designer of nonformal programs, but he will have limited responsibilities for implementation.

JOINT UNIVERSITY-MINISTRY OF EDUCATION PROJECTS - TIME LINE

| | 1972-73 | 1973-74 | 1974-75 |
|---|---|---|---|
| SENARED | | Materials Production Sierra | |
| | | Regional Resource Centers | |
| | | | Materials Production Coast |
| | | | RADIOVISION |
| DEPARTMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION | Los Rios | The Sierra | |
| | | Bibliobus | Coast |

III. Results

A. COMMITMENT TO NONFORMAL EDUCATION

In 1971 when the University of Massachusetts made its initial visit to Ecuador, the Ministry of Education had no nonformal education project in operation. The Adult Education Department was a totally autonomous arm of the Ministry, dedicated exclusively to literacy training. A vertical teacher-student relationship was touted as the only effective teaching style. Adult Education teachers had received little or no specialized training, and had available few support materials other than a blackboard and a curriculum guide modeled after the formal schooling system. UNESCO was conducting a

pilot experiment which was later rejected as a national model. No central materials production unit existed within the Ministry. In January of 1975, the Ministry announced that 41 million sucres was being budgeted for a Nonformal Education Program across the country.

Some 900 Adult Education teachers have received specialized training designed to raise their own level of awareness concerning a new teaching style; a series of new educational gaming materials were being produced by the Ministry to support the new literacy method which emphasized active participation of learners; Ministry officials were discussing the use of paraprofessionals (campesino facilitators) in cooperation with Adult Education Teachers.

SENARED has grown from a small operation to coordination or all educational technology within the Ministry, including an educational television show, a pilot program in educational radio for the rural areas, an effective materials production staff, and a commitment toward rural education. Support was forthcoming for these programs from the highest level of the Ministry.

These changes demonstrated a widespread and deep-seated change in the Ministry of Education's commitment to rural education. A literacy program had been transformed into a general education program, taking into consideration the needs of the learners, and utilizing para-professional campesino teachers and participatory materials such as educational games. Many of the high-level structural and attitudinal changes had been made. The actual delivery of this new commitment to the rural areas must now be looked at.

B. BEHAVIORAL CHANGES AT THE TEACHER LEVEL

Only one evaluation was completed which would give us an idea of what kinds of changes took place in Adult Education teachers' relationship with adult participants; that was conducted on the Coastal experiment. The results of that evaluation were clear: little or no behavioral change had taken place as a result of the

program. Teachers continued for the most part to maintain a vertical and totally authoritative relationship with adult learners. The evaluation had serious limitations--in its instruments, design, and sample population. The general conclusion, however, must be taken seriously. The question is, why did so little behavioral change take place?

Some possible explanations follow:

1) Incomplete or inadequate program. The program designed to achieve the behavioral changes listed in the evaluation was composed of three basic components: a) a series of two intensive training experiences; b) distribution of specially prepared support materials; and c) follow-up supervision. Most teachers received only one of the two training experiences. The high rate of teacher turn-over among Adult Education teachers meant that many teachers had deserted the Adult Education program before the second training was carried out. Consequently, new teachers did not have an understanding of the conceptual basis for the new program, but only received training in the use of gaming materials. Supervision was seriously affected by the restructuring of the Ministry which in effect did away with the Adult Education Department. Adult Education supervisors were transferred to other jobs within the Ministry. Support materials only reached those teachers trained during the second-stage Massachusetts games training, when the games were distributed directly to the teachers. But many of the teachers who participated in the gaming training were third- or fourth-cycle* teachers for whom the gaming materials would have little educational usefulness, as their learners were at levels above those for whom the materials were designed. The teachers proved unable to transfer adequately what they had learned to first- and second-cycle teachers. Other teachers not attending this training never received the support materials at all, because the Adult Education Department distribution system was likewise affected by the reorganization of the Department. To expect major behavioral changes in teachers accustomed to 5 - 15 years of formal schooling experience on the basis of one 5-day training experience is naively optimistic.

* Adult Education curriculum in Ecuador is divided into cycles which roughly correspond to grades. The fourth cycle is a special educational level adapted for campesinos who wish to enter formal secondary schooling.

2) An inherent contradiction in the program. While it is quite right to say that the Department's reorganization seriously affected the effectiveness of the program, it seems only fair to say that if that reorganization had not taken place, many of the same results might have come about. There is after all an inherent contradiction in the program's nature. Teachers are the next to the last rung in the educational hierarchy; only students are below them. Yet teachers were being asked to change their interaction style, a style which quite accurately reflects the interaction style of the other levels within the Ministry. Teachers do not participate in decision-making -- they are the objects of decision-making. The program asks them to behave in a way totally contradictory to the way in which they are treated.

3) Conflicting educational models. Closely related to the preceding point is the fact that teachers, like all other products of the formal system, have a strong educational model against which they measure their behavior. The memory of their own schooling experience is powerful reinforcement for their present behavior. They tend to remember a particularly good teacher, and try to be like him/her. These models are often successful within the formal system, but ineffective and contradictory in the nonformal setting.

Even more important, in some cases, is the fact that teachers are asked to play two different roles during the same day. Many Adult Education teachers teach children in the morning and adults in the evening. They get one kind of support from primary school supervisors who are interested in order, in discipline, in curriculum plans, etc; and another from the Adult Education supervisor interested in horizontal relationships and participation. The roles need not be contradictory, as formal schooling can reasonably become more nonformal. But without a relationship between formal and nonformal supervision, the teacher is asked to bear the entire burden of playing two opposing roles.

4) Student Pressure. As educational reformers have discovered in the United States, students tend to oppose being given too

much freedom as inappropriate and unproductive. Many students demand strong guidance and indeed reinforce the teachers in maintaining vertical and authoritative relationships. This is equally true in the rural areas of Ecuador, where education has become a new dogma; where the school is perceived to be the only way out of poverty; where adults feel inferior to teachers, not so much because the teacher alone makes them feel that way, but because the entire system works to make them feel inferior. The teacher is seen as the answer. An interesting exercise which the Massachusetts trainers have conducted with more than 500 teachers and 200 campesinos demonstrates this fact clearly. A group is asked to list all the things that a teacher brings to the classroom. Answers invariably include intelligence, dedication, good habits, patience, love, new ideas, caring. They are then asked to list what the student brings to the classroom and answers include dirt, stupidity, ignorance, bad habits. Both teachers and adult learners maintain the myth that the teacher is all good and the student is all bad. This is a powerful mental set against which the nonformal program is pitted.

5) Lack of external rewards. In order to play this new role, teachers are given absolutely no additional rewards. Their job is touted as a mission: bringing light to the ignorant, helping the poor campesinos, developing the country. Such a stimulus has worked in other areas, but only when it is coupled with a genuine commitment, on a national scale, to development. Here, it is only a cliche, and teachers are fully aware of it. They are told they are professionals and they are paid as volunteers. They live off the charity of the community, which loses its respect for them because they cannot even pay their bills. For them the rural environment is strange, full of dangers, and lacking in any comfort. They long to leave the community whenever possible, to have a hot meal, to eat an ice cream cone, to be around people whom they emulate, rather than people who should, but don't, emulate them. In many cases they are not even able to talk to the people in the community because they cannot speak the local language. Their one reward is to get out, to wait patiently

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until they can convince some supervisor that they have suffered enough and they should be placed as a full-time school teacher in a city. The other option is unemployment. With the new Ministry decree this will change somewhat. Full-time teachers are being asked to take on Adult Education responsibilities. The part-time Adult Education teacher is being done away with. But what incentive will these full-time teachers have to take on a whole new responsibility in an area of little interest to them?

IV. Conclusions

A. That there exists a sizeable gap between a change in decision-making attitude and a change in implementing behavior.

B. That a number of viable nonformal components have been developed, including exciting support materials, powerful training designs, and models of supervision; but that these components have yet to be put together to form an effective nonformal system. The system should be seen as a whole, not broken into components receiving separate attention. Materials, training designs, and supervision are not enough. Every facet of the system must participate if change in behavior is the ultimate goal.

C. That teacher behavior cannot be considered isolated from the formal school reinforcers which are a part of the individual's background.

D. That new rewards systems need to be found for teachers.

E. That the conflicting roles of formal school teacher and nonformal Adult Education teacher will have to be reconciled, particularly in the case of supervision. This may mean that formal school supervisors are trained along with Adult Education supervisors. (It is unclear what effect the Ministry restructuring will have on supervision. It is likely that only one form of supervision will be available. This would facilitate training supervisors.)

F. That an intensive, rather than extensive, program should be undertaken until models for combining all elements have been worked out. An intensive program, meaning heavy investment in one to three provinces, also would help overcome the enormous odds against which the changes are operating.

G. Training and supervision should help the teacher adjust to the rural cultural and physical environment, as well as provide him/her with new teaching styles and techniques.

H. Teachers need community-based support for their job. Community resources and paraprofessional "facilitators" should be relied upon to carry more of the educational burden, dividing the educational tasks between facilitator and teacher. This would necessarily mean joint training seminars in which teachers learn to have respect for facilitators, and facilitators learn to see the importance of their contribution.

I. That very optimistic and indeed unrealistic behavioral goals were established for this program. Future goal setting should resist the temptation to impress bureaucrats and be based upon the practical realization that behavioral change is a very difficult and time-consuming process.

## V. A Modest Proposal

Given the resources and political limitations of the present situation, it appears best to move toward the establishment of a resource exchange center within the Ministry of Education. For a variety of reasons a totally independent resource center is not now feasible, and a Ministry-based center offers interesting possibilities for success. Such a Center might function as described below:

Step 1. Funding would be provided for the establishment of two or three resource centers. These centers would be under the direction of the Provincial Director of Education, but would receive technical support directly from Educational Technology and Ministry

planning department. Each center would be composed of three kinds of personnel: administrative, materials production, and training field support. Administrative personnel would be small, probably one individual and a secretary responsible for overall coordination of the effort. Materials production personnel should include one individual familiar with all types of visual materials (mimeographs, silk screens, design of educational games, cameras, video-tape equipment) and a second individual familiar with audio materials (radio production, tape recorders, etc.) The training team would also be composed of two individuals, both with experience and/or specialized training in group dynamics, campesino culture, and nonformal training methods and techniques.

The Center would have three basic tasks: training, information exchange, and materials development and production.

1. Training. Each center would offer four to five training courses during a given year for mixed groups of campesinos selected by their communities and teachers involved in rural adult education. These courses would focus on the utilization of nonformal materials, information exchange among communities, and resources available at the Center.

In addition to the formal courses organized by the Center, the Center personnel should be prepared to deal with individual teachers and campesinos as they come to the Center for materials and/or advice. An open-door policy should be promoted through which other institutions as well as Center participants are welcomed.

2. Information Exchange. The trainers would also be responsible for monthly contacts with provincial organizations who offer programs in the rural areas. This includes the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Health, private groups offering loans, Agrarian Reform, etc. Through these contacts the trainers will feed into the Center up-to-date information on provincial programs aimed at the rural areas. In this way, contact between the rural areas and public services will be facilitated. Additionally, trainers should be prepared to help campesinos fill in project request forms,

recommend local lawyers who charge just fees, contact local institutions, etc.

On a bi- or tri-monthly basis, the Center would sponsor meetings of all facilitator communities. Information would be exchanged on common problems, solutions, and needs. Information on new programs being offered would be disseminated, and group responses to problems formulated.

Thirdly, a film program would be organized to provide regular film programming in the participating communities.

3. Materials Development and Production. The Center would be responsible for the generation of new ideas for materials such as educational games, visual aids, etc. These ideas would largely come from the campesinos and teachers who participate in the periodic meetings. The Center technicians would transform these rough ideas into finished products, produce them on a provincial scale, and distribute them to participants. These same materials could also be used in the formal schooling system if the Provincial Director felt them to be appropriate.

Radio would be a major focus of the regional Center, using mass communication to reach a much larger audience than the formal Center participants. Center staff would use rural participants to generate ideas, to produce complete programs, and to assist in the production of programs prepared by the Center staff. In this way, rural ideas would be directly included into the educational programming at the provincial level.

Through these three focuses, the Resource Center could come to serve the rural areas of the province with truly accurate and relevant educational input. The local Centers would rely on the Ministry for their initial formation, personnel training, and equipment. Sophisticated equipment and films could be made available on a loan basis. An annual meeting of provincial personnel would be sponsored by the Ministry to discuss common problems and exchange information on provincial programs.

In order to organize these Centers properly, the Ministry would need technical assistance in the form of 1) financial support for the first training efforts, purchase of equipments and field support; and 2) expert experience in the design of nonformal materials, nonformal campesino training, and cross-cultural training procedures. The expert experience could be provided in a number of ways, including a university contractor or a small team of contractors attached directly to the Ministry. The nature of the technical assistance should depend upon the nature of the Ministry's willingness to cooperate with the program as here proposed.

Considering both the advantages and disadvantages of the proposal, it seems the most reasonable direction to pursue, given the present funding possibilities and national priorities. It brings together into an institutional framework, appropriate within the Ministry of Education, the three major areas of Massachusetts success: 1) Educational games; 2) Rural peer educators (facilitators); and 3) A community-based demand system.

As such, it represents one way in which the University of Massachusetts team feels that nonformal educational opportunities can continue to be provided to the rural population of Ecuador.

POSCRIPT

## POSTCRIPT

A new contract was signed between the University of Massachusetts/School of Education and the Ecuadorean Ministry of Education on May 23, 1975. The contract is for the period of May 1, 1975 through March 31, 1976. The principal objective of the new contract is to transfer the experiences and the knowledge gained from the nonformal education experiment in Ecuador -- from a phase of experimentation without an institutional base to one of implementation within the Ecuadorean Ministry of Education (MOE).

The goals of the 1975-1976 Ecuador Project were derived from the 1972-1975 experimental phase:

| Areas of Project Impact (1972-75) | Areas of Project Work in Establishing Institutional Roots (1975-76) | Implied Goals (1975-76) |
|---|---|---|
| I. Development of Gaming Materials, Nonformal Methodologies, and Delivery Systems. | Further development of learning gaming materials and nonformal education methodologies | To design, develop, and disseminate sequential gaming materials and nonformal education methodogies |
| II. Facilitator Model | Training rural community leaders as nonformal education facilitators | To coordinate and train rural community leaders to become facilitators of nonformal education |
| III. Training of Ecuadorean Teachers in Nonformal Education | Development of Regional Nonformal Education Centers; and Technical Support: training adult and primary school teachers; field coordination, and NFE material development | To develop Educational Innovation Centers in rural Ecuador and to train Ecuadorean teachers in nonformal education |



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Overview of Experimentation Phase (1972-1975)

During the period of 1972 through 1975, the Ecuador Project was involved in the experimentation and exploration of nonformal education tools, methodologies, and delivery systems. The thrust of the three year period concentrated on the:

1. exploration of mechanisms to extend educational opportunity to those rural people outside the services of the formal educational system;
2. creation of methodologies and processes which would operationalize some emerging tenents of nonformal education;
3. experimentation with delivery systems that would reach remote campesino communities in rural Ecuador;
4. development and dissemination of learning materials to rural communities with the purpose of teaching literacy, numeracy, and communication skills;
5. formation of a network of educational facilitators in rural Ecuador;
6. conceptualization and consolidation of the three year activities of the project in a documented form enabling interested institutions and people to learn from the activities and experiences of the project.

Overview of Institutional Phase (1975-1976)

In order to assure that the knowledge, skills, materials, methodologies, and experiences learned from the three year period of experimentation, would not be lost in reports, the MOE (Ministry of Education) of Ecuador agreed on a contract that would institutionalize the major nonformal components of the Ecuador Project. These components are the learning gaming materials, the training of educational nonformal facilitators, and the development of three regional nonformal educational centers. All three components are presently in a stage of implementation with the focal point for the development of materials and training being the regional educational centers.

The three components expressed as objectives have designated the work of the Project:

I. To further develop learning gaming materials in a sequential format in at least three levels and combine strategies, materials,

and delivery systems to provide nonformal education to a greater percentage of people in rural Ecuador.

II. To create alternative educational delivery models to reach the rural marginal population of Ecuador, through the training of nonformal education facilitators.

III. To establish regional Educational Innovative Centers in order to strengthen the capability of Tecnologia Educativa in providing inservice training, and in the production of nonformal educational materials.

The activities to accomplish the objectives are being implemented through Tecnologia Educativa (Department of Educational Technology), a division within the MOE. The personnel of the Project is predominantly Ecuadorean, under contract from the MOE and the University of Massachusetts.

Prospects for the Future

In January of 1975, the MOE of Ecuador announced that 41 million sucres ($1,600,000)was being budgeted for a nonformal education program in rural Ecuador, with projected funding for the future.

Through the institutionalization of the Ecuador Project components within the MOE of Ecuador the theoretical base and the emperical evidence presented in this document will undoubtedly increase in clarity. Whether nonformal education in the long-run improves the social and economic conditions of the Ecuadorean campesino or only serves as another tool to deprive the campesino of his/her social mobility and economic security is a question that will only be answered with time.

The Project staff can only hope that the tools, methodologies and strategies developed during the experimentation phase will serve to improve the human condition of people. However, the staff is acutely aware of the possibility that such tools, methodologies and strategies can also be used by people to manipulate, domesticate, and perpetuate rather than alleviate the conditions that oppress the social and economic development of a community or people.

PROJECT DOCUMENTS LIST

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## Ecuador Project Reports

The following documents are available from the Center for International Education.

### Technical Notes

David R. Evans and James Hoxeng, Tecnical Note No. 1: The Ecuador Project. Discussion of basic goals, philosophy, and methodology of a rural nonformal education project, 23 pages.

William A. Smith, Technical Note No. 2: Concientizacao and Simulation/ Games. Comments on Paulo Freire's educational philosophy, and discussion of the use of simulation games for consciousness raising, 26 pages.

James Hoxeng, Technical Note No. 3: Hacienda. Description of a board game simulating the economic and social realities of the Ecuadorian Sierra. (Also known as "The Game of Life"), 18 pages.

Jock Gunter, Technical Note No. 4: Market Rummy. Description of a Market Rummy card game which provides fluency practice in basic market mathematics.

Jock Gunter, Technical Note Note No. 5: Ashton-Warner Literacy Method Description of modified version of Sylvia Ashton-Warner's approach to literacy training used in Ecuadorian villages, 15 pages.

Jock Gunter, Technical Note No. 6: Letter Dice. Description of letter fluency game which uses simple participation games to involve illiterates in a non-threatening approach to literacy, 17 pages.

Jock Gunter, Technical Note No. 7: Number Bingo. Description of Bingo-like fluency games for both woords and numerical operations, 15 pages.

Jock Gunter, Technical No. 8: Math Fluency Games. Description of a variety of simple fluency games which provide practice in literacy skills.

Jock Gunter, Technical Note No. 9: Letter Fluency Games. Description of a variety of simple fluency games which provide practice in basic arithmetic operations.

James Hoxeng, Technical Note No. 10: Tabacundo. Description and analysis of the impact of cassette tape recorders as a feedback and programming technique in a rural Ecuadorian radio school program.



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Patricio Barriga, Carlos Moreno, Enrique Tasiguano, and Valerie Ickis, Technical Note No. 11: Facilitator Model*. Description of the facilitator concpet as an approach for community development in rural Ecuador.

Carlos Moreno and Carla Clason, Technical Note No. 12: Theater and Puppets*. Description of the use of theater and puppets as a tool for community dialogue and participation.

Patricio Barriga, Technical Note No. 13: Fotonovela*. Description of the development and use of the fotonovela as a tool for literacy and community conscious raising.

Amparo Borja, Adriana Rothkegel and Carlos Moreno, Technical Note 14: Educational Fair*. Description of the use of nonformal materials, theater/puppets, and music as an approach to create community interest in education.

Overview of Project

James Hoxeng, Let Jorge Do It: An Approach to Rural Nonformal Education. Amherst, Mass.: Center for International Education, University of Mass., 1973.

A. M. Ochoa, Survey of Gaming Materials - Ecuador Project, Center for International Education, May 1974.

D. A. Swanson, The University of Massachusetts Project: An Evaluation of Nonformal Education in Ecuador. Quito, Ecuador: U.S. Agency for International Development, 1973.

Articles

Patricio Barriga and Enrique Tasiguano, "Educacion No Formal," Educacion Hoy: Perspectivas Latinoamericanas, Diciembre-Febrero 1973-74.

Christian Science Monitor, The, "What's Happening in Ecuador," February 13, 1974.

David R. Evans and Arlen Etling, "Don't Look Now Chairman Mao: We're Preparing Facilitators to be Nonformal Educators," Meforum, Fall 1974.

Arthur Gillete, "Review of Ecuador Project Film," Prospects: Quarterly Review of Education, Vol. IV, No. 1, Spring 1974.

Jock, Gunter, "Education Media for Rural Ecuador," Audiovisual Instruction, October 1973.

Interaction, "Entertainment as Education," Vol. II, No. 2, November 1974.

* Technical Notes to be available December 1975.

Helen W. Nash, "Games for Living," War on Hunger, December 1973.

Helen W. Nash, "The Show Goes On," War on Hunger, September 1974.

William Smith, Alfred Alschuler, Carlos Moreno, and Enrique Tasiguano, "Critical Consciousness," Meforum, Spring 1975.

William Smith, "Hacienda/Simulation," Discussion Sur L'Alphabetisation, Printemps, 1974.

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